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Gibson, Edmund, 1669-1748,
A preservative against
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H. Stephens

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PRESERVATIVE AGAINST POPERY,

IN SEVERAL

Select Discourses

UPON THE

PRINCIPAL HEADS OF CONTROVERSY

BETWEEN

PROTESTANTS AND PAPISTS:

BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED

By the most eminent Divines of the Church of England,

CHIEFLY IN THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

COLLECTED BY

THE RIGHT REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D.

SUCCESSIVELY LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN AND LONDON,

[B. 1669, D. 1748.]

CAREFULLY REVISED AND EDITED

FOR THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES
OF THE REFORMATION,

BY

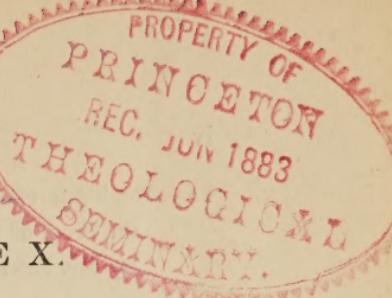
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pretences can be made of a good intention to excuse them from the charge and danger of idolatry, who continue the practice of it. And both these not only still remain unanswered ; but if we may be allowed to judge either by their own strength, or by our adversaries' silence, are truly and indeed unanswered.

It is not, therefore, out of any of the least opinion that any thing more need be said to confirm our cause, much less that I esteem myself able to undertake it with the same success that those other champions of our faith have done it, that I venture these discourses to a public view. But since our adversaries still continue, without taking notice of any of these things, to cry up their great Diana no less than if she had never at all been shewn to be but an idol, I thought it might not be amiss to revive our instances against it : and that we ought not to appear less solicitous by a frequent repetition of our reasons, to keep men in the truth, than others are by a continual insisting upon their so often baffled sophistry, to lead them into error.

It was an ingenious apology that Seneca once made, for his often repeating the same things, "that he did but inculcate over and over the same counsels, to those that over and over committed the same faults :" and I remember an ancient Father has left it as his opinion, that it was useful for the same truths to be vindicated by many, "because that one man's writings might possibly chance to come where the others did not : and what was less fully or clearly explained by one, might be supplied and enlarged by the other." And a greater than either of these, St. Paul, has at once left us both an example, and a warrant for this solicitude ; Phil. iii. 1, "To write the same things to you, to me (says he) is not grievous, but for you it is safe."

Indeed I think, if there be any need of an excuse for this undertaking, it ought to be rather to apologize for a far greater absurdity which we all commit in writing at all against those men, who in these disputes concerning the holy sacrament, have most evidently shewn that to be true of Christians, which was once said of the ancient philosophers, "that there can be nothing so absurd which some men will not adventure to maintain."

In most of our other controversies with those of the Church of Rome, we shew them to be erroneous ; in this they are extravagant ; and as an eminent pen has very justly expressed

it: “the business of transubstantiation* is not a controversy of Scripture against Scripture, or of reason against reason, but of downright impudence against the plain meaning of Scripture, and all the sense and reason of mankind.”

The truth is, as the same person goes on,† “it is a most self-evident falsehood: and there is no doctrine or proposition in the world, that is of itself more evidently true, than transubstantiation is evidently false.” And if such things as these must be disputed, and this evidence, “that what we see and handle and taste to be bread is bread, and not the body of a man; and what we see and taste to be wine is wine, and not blood, may not pass for sufficient, without any farther proof, I cannot discern why any man that hath but confidence enough to do so, may not deny any thing to be what all the world sees it is, or affirm it to be what all the world sees it is not, and this without all possibility of being further confuted.”

But yet, since it has pleased God so far to give over some men to a spirit of delusion, as not only seriously to believe this themselves, but also rashly to damn all those that cannot believe it with them, we ought, as well for the security of those who have not yet abandoned their own sense and reason, in compliance only with others who in this matter profess to have laid aside theirs; as in charity to such deluded persons as are unhappily led away with these errors, to shew them their unreasonableness; to convince them that Christianity is a wise and rational religion: that it is a mistaken piety to suppose that men ought to believe contradictions; or that their faith is ever the more perfect, because the object of it is impossible: that our senses ought to be trusted in judging aright of their proper object; that to deny this, is to overthrow the greatest external evidence we have for our religion, which is founded upon their judgment; or if that will be more considerable, is to take away all the grounds that even themselves can pretend to, wherefore they should disbelieve them in favour of transubstantiation.

And this I persuade myself I have in the following discourse sufficiently shewn, and I shall not need to repeat it again here. For the words themselves, which are the grounds of this great error, I have taken that method which seemed to me the most proper to find out the true meaning of them; and as far as the nature of the inquiry would permit, have endeavoured to render it plain and intelligible, even to the meanest capacity. And I

* Discourse against Transubstantiation, p. 2.

† Ibid.

have some cause to hope that the most learned will not be dissatisfied with the design, whatever they may be with the performance ; it being from such that I have taken the greatest part of my reflections, and in which I pretend to little of my own, besides the care of putting together here, which I had observed scattered up and down in parts elsewhere.

It was so much the more fit at this time to insist upon this manner of arguing, in that a late disturber of the Fathers, the better to shew the antiquity of his new religion, has pretended to search no less than into the secrets of the Jewish Cabala after it, and to have found out Transubstantiation there amongst the rest of the Rabbinical follies.* Now, however, the very name of Galatinus be sufficient to learned men to make them esteem his judgment in his Jewish to be much the same as in his Christian antiquity which follows after, in those eminent pieces of St. Peter's and St. Matthew's Liturgies ;† St. Andrew's work of the Passion of our Lord ; Dionysius's Ecclesiast. Hierarchy, &c., yet because such stuff as this may serve to amuse those who are not acquainted with the emptiness of it, I was so much the rather inclined to shew what the true notions of the Jewish rites would furnish us with to overthrow their pretences ; and that the Rabbins' visions are of as little moment to confirm this conceit, as their own miracles.

But whatever those of the other communion shall please to judge of my arguments, yet at least the opinions of those eminent men of their own Church may certainly deserve to be considered by them, who have freely declared that there is not in Scripture any evident proof of transubstantiation ; nay, some of whom have thought so little engagement upon them, either from that or any other authority, to believe it, that they have lived and died in their Church without ever embracing of it.

And of this the late author of the Historical Treatise of Transubstantiation,‡ and which is just now set forth in our own language, may be an eminent instance, being a person at this day living in the communion of the Church of Rome, and in no little esteem among all that know him. It is not fit to give any more particular character of him at this time. They who shall please to peruse his book, will find enough in it to speak to his advantage ; and if they have but any tolerable

* *Consensus Veterum*, p. 21, &c.

† *Ibid.* p. 27.

‡ *Traité d'un Autheur de la Communion Romaine touchant la Transubstantiation.* Lond. 1686.

disposition to receive the truth, will clearly see, that this point of transubstantiation was the production of a blind and barbarous age; unknown in the Church for above one thousand years, and never owned by the greatest men in any ages since. The truth is, if we inquire precisely into this business of transubstantiation, we shall find the first foundation of it laid in a cloister by an unwary monk, about the beginning of the seventh century: carried on by a cabal of men,* assembled under the name of a General Council† to introduce the worship of images into the Church, A.D. 787;‡ formed into a better shape by another monk,§ A.D. 818, and he too opposed by almost all the learned men of his age; and at last confirmed by a Pope,|| of whom their own authors have left us but a very indifferent character;¶ and in a Synod,** of which I shall observe only this, that it gave the Pope the power of unmaking Kings, as well as the priests that of making their God.

But indeed I think we ought not to charge the Council with either of these attempts; since, contrary to the manner of proceeding in such assemblies, received in all ages, nothing was either judged or debated by the Synod:†† the Pope only himself formed the Articles, digested them into Canons, and so read them to the Fathers, some of which, their own historian tells us, approved them, others did not; but, however, all were forced to be contented with them.

Such was the first rise of this new doctrine, 1215 years after Christ. But still the most learned men of that and the following ages doubted not to dissent from it.‡‡ Aquinas, who wrote about fifty years after this definition, speaks of some, “who thought the substantial form of the bread still to remain

* About A.D. 636, or 640. See Blondel de l'Eucharistie, c. 14. p. 365. [Rouen, 1641.] † 2. Concil. Nic.

‡ Blondel. I. c. cap. 18. [Ibid.] p. 426. § Paschasius Radbertus. || See the Treatise of Transubstantiation, Hist. of the 9th Age.

¶ Innocent. III. Super omnes mortales ambitiosus et superbus, pecuniaeque sitior insatiabilis, et ad omnia sclera pro præmiis datis vel promissis cereus et proclivis. Matt. Paris.

** Concil. Lateran. IV. Can. 3. de Hæreticis. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 11. p. 148. Lut. Par. 1671.]

†† His omnibus congregatis in suo loco præfato, et juxta morem Conciliorum generalium in suis Ordinibus singulis collocatis, facto prius ab ipso Papa exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula LXX [LX] queæ aliis placabilia, aliis videbantur onerosa. Matt. Paris. ad Ann. 1215. [Hist. Maj. p. 272. Lond. 1640.] See this confirmed by Mons. du Pin, Dissert. VII. Paris. 4°. 1686. p. 572, 573.

‡‡ See 3. q. 75. Art. 6. Utrum facta consecratione remaneat in Hoc Sacramento forma substantialis Panis? [vol. 24. p. 393. col. 2. Venet. 1787.]

after consecration :"* Durandus doubted not to assert "the continuance of the matter of the elements, whatever became of the form :" and that it was † "rashness to say that Christ's body could be there no otherwise than by transubstantiation :" to which Scotus‡ also subscribed, " that the truth of the eucharist might be saved without transubstantiation,"§ and that in plain terms ours was the easier, and, " to all appearance, the truer interpretation of Christ's words ;" in which Ockam|| and d'Alliaco¶ concurred with him. Fisher** confessed that " there was nothing to prove the true presence of Christ's body and blood in their mass :" Ferus†† would not have it inquired into, " how Christ's body is there ;" and Tonstall††† thought it were better " to leave men to their liberty of belief in it." Those who in respect to their Church's definition did accept it, yet freely declared that §§ " before this Council it was no matter of faith, nor but for its decision would have been now ; that the ancients did not believe it ; that the Scripture does not express it ;" in short, " that the interpretation which we give is altogether as agreeable to the words of Christ," and in truth, " free from infinite inconveniences with which the other abounds." All which plainly enough shews that not only the late private " heretical spirit, whose imperious sentiments, and private glosses, and contradictory interpretations (as a late author||| has elegantly expressed it), like the victorious rabble of the fishermen of Naples riding in triumph, and trampling under foot ecclesiastical traditions, decrees and constitutions, ancient Fathers, ancient liturgies, the whole Church of Christ, but especially those words of his, This is my body, has opposed this doctrine ;" but even those

* In. 4. d. 11. q. 9. [q. 3.] [fol. ccxlvi. p. 2. col. 2. Par. 1508.] Quid ergo dicendum de conversione substantiæ Panis in Corpus Christi ? Salvo meliori judicio, potest æstimari, quod SI in isto Sacramento fiat Conversio substantiæ Panis in Corpus Christi.

† Id. in 4. dist. 11. q. 4. Art. 14. [Ibid. fol. ccxlvi. p. 1. col. 1.]

‡ Scotus in 4. dist. 11. q. 3. [fol. 55. p. 2. col. 2. Venet. 1597.]

§ Id. 4. sent. d. 11. q. 3. [Ibid.] || Ockam in 4. q. 6.

¶ Alliaco in 4. q. 6. Art. 2. [fol. ccxvi. Paris. sine anno.]

** Contr. capt. Babyl. cap. 10.

†† Ferus in Matt. 26. Cum certum sit ibi esse Corpus Christi, quid opus est disputare num Panis substantia maneat, vel non ?

†† Lib. 1. de Eucharistia : See Treatise of Transubstantiation, 1 Part.

§§ Vid. Bellarm. de Euch. l. 3. c. 23. p. 767, 768. [Addit Scotus ante Lateranense Concilium non fuisse dogma fidei transubstantiationem, tom. 3. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. s. 12. Pragæ, 1721.] Suarez, in 3. part. D. Th. vol. 3. disp. 50. p. 593, 594. [Salmant. 1595.] Cajetan. in 3. D. Th. q. 75. art. 1. Scotus, l. c. 4. Sent. d. 11. q. 3. [ut supra.] Vid. etiam Ockam, Alliac. loc. supr. cit. |||| Consensus Veterum, p. 27.

who are to be supposed to have had the greatest reverence for all these, their own masters and doctors, found it difficult to embrace so absurd and contradictory a belief.

And here then let me beseech those into whose hands these papers may chance to fall, seriously to consider this matter, and whether the sole authority of such a Pope as Innocent III. whose actions towards one of our own kings,* and in favour of that very ill man Dominic and his Inquisition, were there nothing else remaining of his life, might be sufficient to render him detestable to all good men, ought to be of so great an authority with us, as to engage us to give up our senses and our reason ; nay, and even Scripture and antiquity itself, in obedience to his arbitrary and unwarrantable definition.

It is, I suppose, sufficiently evident from what has been before observed, how little assurance their own authors had, for all the definition of the Council of Lateran, of this doctrine. I shall not need to say what debates arose among the divines of the Council of Trent about it. And though since its determination there, men have not dared so openly to speak their minds concerning it as before, yet we are not to imagine that they are therefore ever the more convinced of its truth.

I will not deny but that very great numbers in the Roman communion, by a profound ignorance and a blind obedience, the two great Gospel perfections with some men, disposed to swallow any thing that the Church shall think fit to require of them, may sincerely profess the belief of this doctrine ; because they have either never at all considered it, or it may be are not capable of comprehending the impossibility of it. Nor shall I be so uncharitable as to suppose that all, even of the learned amongst them, do wilfully profess and act in this matter against what they believe and know to be true. I will rather persuade myself that some motives or prejudices, which I am not able to comprehend, do really blind their eyes, and make them stumble in the brightness of a mid-day light. But yet that all those, who nevertheless continue to live in the external communion of the Church of Rome, are not thus sincere in the belief of it, is what I think I may without uncharitableness affirm ; and because it will be a matter of great importance to make this appear, especially to those of that persuasion, I will beg leave to offer such proofs of it, as have come to my knowledge, in some of the most eminent persons of these last ages, and to which I doubt not but others,

* K. John.

better acquainted with these secrets than I can pretend to be; might be able to add many more examples.

And the first that I shall mention is the famous Picherellus,* of whom the testimonies prefixed to his works speak so advantageously, that I shall not need say any thing of the esteem which the learned world had of him.† I must transcribe his whole treatise, should I insist on all he has delivered repugnant to their doctrine of transubstantiation. Suffice it to observe, that in his exposition of the words of institution, “This is my body,” he gives this plain interpretation of them, “This bread is my body,” which is both freely allowed by the Papists themselves to be inconsistent with their belief as to this matter; and which he largely shews not only to be his own, but to have been the constant doctrine of the primitive Fathers in this point.

But in this, it may be, there is not so much ground for our admiration, that one who was not very fond of any of the errors of that Church, should openly dissent from her in this: it will more be wondered that a person so eminent amongst them as Cardinal du Perron, and that has written so much in defence of transubstantiation, should nevertheless all the while himself believe nothing of it. And yet this we are assured he freely confessed to some of his friends not long before his death: that he thought the doctrine to be monstrous; that he had done his endeavour to colour it over the best he could in his books; but that in short he had undertaken an ill cause, and which was not to be maintained. But I will set down the relation as I find it in Monsieur Drelincourt’s Answer to the Landgrave of Hesse;‡ and who would not have presumed to have offered a relation so considerable, and to a person of such quality, had he at all feared that he could have been disproved in it. ‘Your Highness§ (says he), may believe me if you

* Petri Picherelli Expositio Verborum institutionis Coenæ Domini. Lugd. Batav. 1627. 12°.

† Hoc est Corpus meum, *i. e.* Hic panis fractus est Corpus meum. p. 10. Hoc est Corpus meum, *i. e.* Panis quem frangimus est communio cum Corpore Christi, p. 14.— and p. 27. Expounding Gratian. dist. 2. Can. Non Hoc Corpus, Ipsum Corpus invisibiliter, de vero et germano Corpore in Coelis agente intelligitur: Non ipsum visibiliter de Corpore et sanguine Sacramentalibus, Pane et Vino; Corporis Christi et sanguinis symbolis: Quæ rei quam significant nomen per supradictam metonymiam mutuantur.

‡ Reponse à la Lettre de Monsig. le Prince Ernest aus cinq Ministres de Paris, &c. Geneve, 1664.

§ Votre Altesse me croira s'il luy plait. Mais je luy puis dire avec toute sincerite et verite, que si le defunt Cardinal du Perron luy a persuade la Transubstantiation, il luy a persuade ce qu'il n'a pû se persuader à soymeme, et qu'il n'a nullement cru. Car je scay par des Gens d' Hon-

please: but I can assure you, with all sincerity and truth, that if the late Cardinal du Perron has convinced you of the truth of transubstantiation, he has convinced you of that of which he could never convince himself, nor did he ever believe it. For I have been informed by certain persons of honour, and that are in all respects worthy of belief, and who had it from those that were eye-witnesses; that some friends of that illustrious and learned Cardinal, who went to see him as he lay languishing upon his bed, and ill of that distemper of which he died, desired him to tell them freely what he thought of transubstantiation: to whom he answered, 'that it was a *monster*.' And when they farther asked him, how then he had written so copiously and learnedly about it? He replied, that he had done the utmost that his wit and parts had enabled him, to *colour over this abuse, and render it plausible*; but that he had done like those who employ all their force to defend an *ill cause*." And thus far Monsieur Drelincourt. I could to this add some farther circumstances which I have learned of this matter, but what is here said may suffice to shew what the real opinion of this great Cardinal, after all his voluminous writings, as to this doctrine was; unless some future obligations shall perhaps engage me to enter on a more particular account of it.

To these two great instances of another nation, I will beg leave to subjoin a third of our own country: Father Barnes the Benedictine,* who in his Pacific Discourse of most of the points in controversy between us and the Papists, expressly

neur et dignes de foy, qui l'avoient apris de temoins oculaires, que des Amis de cet illustre et scavant Cardinal, qui l'estoient alle visiter lors qu'il estoit languissant en son lit, et malade de la maladie dont il est mort, le prierent de leur dire franchement ce qu'il croyoit de la Transubstantiation, et qu'il repondit, qu'il la tenoit pour un Monstre. Et comme ils luy demanderent, comment donc il en avoit ecrit si amplement et si doctement; il repliqua, qu'il avoit deploye toutes les addresses de son esprit pour colourer cet abus, et pour le rendre plausible; et qu'il avoit fait comme ceux qui font tous leurs efforts pour defendre une mauvaise cause.

* *Catholico-Romano-Pacificus*, Oxon. 1680, p. 90. *Assertio Transubstantiationis, seu mutationis substantialis panis, licet sit opinio communior, non tamen est fides Ecclesiæ. Et Scripturæ et Patres docentes μετονομίαν, sufficienter exponi possunt de admiranda et supernaturali mutatione Panis per Præsentiam Corporis Christi ei accidentem, sine substantialis Panis desitione. Et p. 95. μετονομίαν illam in Augustissimo Sacramento factam, plerique graves et antiqui Scriptores ita explicant, ut non fiat per desitionem substantialis panis, sed per receptionem supernaturalem substantialis Corporis Christi in substantialiam Panis. V. pl.*

declares, “That the assertion of transubstantiation, or of the substantial change of the bread, though it be indeed the more common opinion, is yet no part of the Church’s faith : and that the Scripture and Fathers, when they speak of a *μετονοία* may be sufficiently expounded of that admirable and supernatural change of the bread, by the presence of Christ’s body added to it, without the departure of the substance of the bread itself.”

It appears by these words how little this monk thought transubstantiation an article of faith. But a greater than he, and who not only did not esteem it necessary for others to receive it, but clearly shews that he did not believe it himself, is the illustrious Monsieur de Marca,* late archbishop of Paris, and well known to the world for his great learning and eminence. His Treatise of the Eucharist was published with authority, by one of his near relations, the Abbé Faget, at Paris, 1668, with some other little tracts which he had received from the Archbishop’s own hands. In the close of that treatise he thus delivers his opinion : “The species† of the bread is in its essence and nature distinct from the body of Christ adjoined to it, although the reason of the eucharist requires, that the inward substance of the bread should be converted into that body, after a manner that exceeds all imagina-

* Illustriss. atque Reverend. P. de Marca Parisiens. Archiep. Dissertationes Posthumæ. De Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento dissertatio, in fine.

† Species Panis est Essentia et Natura distincta à Corpore Christi sibi adjuncto, licet ratio Eucharistiae id exigat, ut substantia Panis interior conversa fuerit in illud Corpus modo quodam qui omnem cogitationem exsuperat. Cæterum mutatio illa non officit quin Panis, qui videtur, [id est, *accidentia*] suam Naturam, Extantiam et Essentiam [sive Substantiam] retineat, et naturæ veræ Proprietates, inter quas est alèndi corporis humani facultas.—Unde consequitur recte observatum à Gelasio, Sacra-menta Corporis et Sanguinis Christi divinam rem esse, quia Panis et Vinum in divinam transeunt substantiam, S. Spiritu perficiente, nempe in Corpus Christi spiritale: sed alia ex parte non desinere substantiam et naturam Panis et Vini, sed ea permanere in suæ proprietate Naturæ. Quoniam scil. postquam Panis in divinam substantiam transivit, [NON INTERIIT INTEGRA PANIS NATURA QUAM SUBSTANTIAM QUOQUE VOCAT, NEC DESIVIT: SED] in suæ proprietate Naturæ permansit ad alendum Corpus idonea, quod est præcipuum confecti panis munus. [p. 61. Par. 1682.] Note, That in the Paris Edition, they have put in those words printed in the Italics (id est, *accidentia*), and omitted those that I have caused to be set in Capitals: but in the original leaf, which I have left in St. Martin’s Library, to be seen by any that pleases, and which was cut out for the sake of this passage, it stands as I have said; and as it is truly represented in the Holland Edition.

tion. But yet this change hinders not but that the bread which is seen still retains its own nature, being, and essence, or substance, together with the properties of its true nature, amoug which, one is the faculty of nourishing our bodies, &c. Whence it follows, that it was rightly observed by Gelasius, that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ was a divine thing, because the bread and wine being perfected by the Holy Spirit, pass into the divine substance, *viz.* the spiritual body of Christ ; but on the other side, that the substance and nature of the bread and wine do not cease to be, but continue still in the propriety of their own nature.”

And here I suppose any one who reads this passage alone of this treatise, might, without the help of Monsieur Baluze’s* animadversion, easily have concluded, “that if this be indeed the work of Monsieur de Marca, it will be impossible to hinder him from passing with many persons for a *heretic*, as to the point of the eucharist.” But before I quit this instance, I cannot but observe with reference to this treatise, what care the Romanists take to hinder the sentiments of learned men, in this point, from coming to a perfect knowledge: and which might give us some cause to suspect, that their great concern is not so much, whether they do indeed believe transubstantiation themselves, as not to let the world know that they do not.

This has been heretofore shewn in another treatise, with reference to St. Chrysostom; whose epistle to Cæsarius,† some of the Sorbonne doctors caused most shamefully to be cut out of Monsieur Bigot’s edition of Palladius, because it too plainly spoke the doctrine of the Protestants as to this point. And the same has almost happened to this treatise of Monsieur de Marca here mentioned : ‡ before it came to a public sight, the passages that seemed most visibly to oppose their doctrine,

* Baluze, 2 Lettre à Monsieur le Presid. Marca. S’il est vray, ce que j’ay de la peine à croire, que feu Monseigneur ait compose les Traitez que M. Faget a fait imprimer sous son nom, dont il se vante dans la Preface et dans la Vie d’avoir les Originaux escrits de la main de l’Auteur, nous ne scaurions empescher que feu Monseigneur ne passe dans l’Esprit de beaucoup de Gens pour HERETIQUE, au sujet de l’Eucharistie. [p. 13. ed. 1668.]

† Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, Appendix, p. 127. n. v.

‡ See the Preface to the Reader before the Edition of the same Treatises, 12° Anno 1669, and Monsieur Baluze’s Letter to the Bishop of Tulle on this occasion, [ut supra] p. 5.

were either changed or suppressed (of which the passage before cited is one),* as appears by the Paris edition now extant of them. But† the providence of God that brought to light the other, has discovered this cheat too ; for before the alarm was given, and that the Chancellor,‡ the Sorbonne doctors, but especially Monsieur Baluze, by his letters to the President de Marca, the Archbishop's son, upon this occasion, had awokened the Abbe Faget to consider more nearly what he had done ;§ several presents had been made of the entire work as it was in the author's MS. ; and, if we may credit their own relations, the printer, who was a Protestant, and the same that printed|| Monsieur Claude's books against the Perpetuite, has obliged that learned person with a copy ; by which means both the genuine sentiments of Monsieur de Marca, in opposition to transubstantiation, are preserved, and their fraudulent endeavours to suppress his opinion discovered.

To this eminent person I will beg leave to subjoin a fifth, and he too no less known to the world, both for his learning and reputation, nor less a heretic in this point, however, not hitherto so openly discovered as the other : and that is Father Sirmond,¶ the Jesuit. In his life of Paschasius Radbertus, he tells us, "that this monk was the first who explained the genuine sense of the Catholic Church in this mystery :" and indeed, if what** Blondel and some others have observed concerning him, be true, that he was for impanation, not transubstantiation ; the Jesuit perhaps spoke his real judgment of him, though not in that sense that he is usually understood to have done it.

But however that be, certain it is, that this learned Father so little believed the doctrine of the present Roman Church as to this point, that he freely confessed he thought it had herein departed from the ancient faith ; and at the desire of one of his friends, wrote a short treatise to confirm his assertion.

* The original leaves cut out by them having fallen into my hands, may be seen by those that desire it, in St. Martin's Library.

† See Monsieur Baluze, 2. Lettre, [ut supra] p. 15.

‡ Mais enfin le refus que Mrs. de Sorbonne luy ont fait de luy donner leur approbation—luy ont fait ouvrir les yeux, s'estant laisse entendre, quoiqu'un peu tard, qu'il a fait une Sottise. Ibid.

§ Et p. 16. Je dis, un peu tard ; parce qu'il avoit deja fait des presents de son livre, et que le libraire en avoit aussi debite quelques uns.

|| Baluze Lettre à Monsieur l'Evesque de Tulle, [ibid.] p. 5.

¶ Sirmond. Vit. Pasch. Radbert.

** Eclaircissement de l'Euch. c. 19. [ut supra] p. 431, &c.

This, though it be not yet made public, is nevertheless in the hands of several persons of undoubted integrity : I will mention only one, whose learning and worth are sufficiently known to the world, *viz.* Monsieur Bigot ; who, discoursing with Father Raynauld at Lyons about this matter, the Jesuit confessed to him that it was true ; that he had himself a copy of his treatise, which he would communicate to him, and that it was Father Sirmond whom, upon this account, he reflected upon in his book, *de bonis et malis Libris*, where he observes,* “that men of great parts love to innovate, and invent always somewhat of their own, in difficult matters.”

When Monsieur Bigot returned to claim the performance of his promise, the Jesuit excused himself to him, that he could not light upon it ; which, when he afterwards told to Father Chiffet, another Jesuit of Dijonois, he again confirmed to him the truth of the relation, and voluntarily offered him a copy of the treatise, which he told him was transcribed from Father Sirmond’s original. This Monsieur Bigot has not only acknowledged to some of his friends of my acquaintance, but promised to communicate to them the very treatise ; and I dare appeal to the candour of that worthy person for the truth of what I have here related, and whose name I should not have mentioned, but only to remove all reasonable cause of suspicion in a matter of such importance.

And what I have now said of Father Sirmond, I might as truly affirm of a fourth person of as great a name, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whose treatise against Transubstantiation has been seen by several persons, and is still read in the MS. But because I am not at liberty to make use of their names, I shall not any further insist upon this example.

My next instance will be more undeniable, and it is of the ingenious Monsieur de Marolles, abbot of Ville-loin, well known in France for his excellent writings and great abilities. A little before his death, which happened about the beginning of the year 1681, being desirous to free his conscience as to the point of the holy eucharist, in which he supposed their Church to have many ways departed from the right faith, he caused a paper to be printed, in which he declares his thoughts concerning it ; and sent it to several of his most learned ac-

* *Ingenia præclara in rebus difficilibus aliquid semper de suo commisuntur. Nam præclara ingenia multa novant circa scientias.* Theoph. Raynaudi S. J. *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris* : Lugduni, 1653, p. 251.

quaintance, the better to undeceive them in this matter. One of these persons, to whom this present was made, having been pleased to communicate to me the very paper which, by the Abbot's order, was brought to him, it may not perhaps be amiss to gratify the reader's curiosity, if I here insert it at its full length.

*“Permission hoped for to speak freely for the Truth.**

“I cannot but exceedingly wonder, that a certain preacher, who reads the holy Scriptures, and will maintain nothing but by their authority, should nevertheless undertake to defend against all opposers by the Scriptures, the real presence in the eucharist out of the act of receiving; and think himself so sure to overcome on this occasion, as to talk of it as a thing certain, and in which he knows he cannot be resisted.

“It would certainly be more safe not to be too much prepossessed with any thing. I will not name the person, because I have no mind to displease him: but in the mean time, neither sense, nor reason, nor the word of God have suggested to him one word of it; unless the Apostle was mistaken when he said, If ye are risen with Christ, seek those things that are above, where Christ is sat at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, and not on things upon the earth. Coloss. iii. 1, 2. For how could he speak after this manner, if Jesus Christ be still upon earth by his real presence under the species in the eucharist?

“When he ascended into heaven, he said not to his disciples, which saw his wonderful ascension, ‘I shall be with you always by my real presence under the species of the eucharist, which shall be publicly exposed to you.’ In his sermon at the supper which he had just now celebrated, and which immediately preceded his passion, Jesus Christ, according to St. John, says expressly to his Apostles, that he was about to leave them, that he should not be long absent, that he would send to them the Comforter; but not one word of his real presence in the eucharist, which he had so lately instituted under the bread and wine, to be a mystery of our faith for the nourishment of the soul to life eternal, as ordinary bread and wine are for the nourishment of the body to a tem-

* The Abbot means, that now at his death he hoped he might speak freely what he durst not in his life-time do.

poral life, and that too for all the faithful, as is clearly signified by those words, Drink ye all of this. Whereupon I have elsewhere remarked the custom of libations, which were in use time out of mind throughout the whole Romam empire, and which custom was established in honour of the gods: as may be seen in the version of Athenæus in 1680; and as I had observed long before upon Virgil and Horace, though there was but little notice taken of it. Which makes me think it very probable, that our Saviour intended to sanctify this profane custom, as he did some others, which I have remarked in the same place.

“ When men undertake to prove too much, they very often prove nothing at all: to maintain that Jesus Christ is entire in the eucharist with all his bodily extension, and all his dignity, so as he is in heaven: so that under the roundness of the bread, there is nothing that is round; under the whiteness there is nothing white; this is what the Scripture has not said one word of. They are indeed mere visions, and which are not so easy to maintain as men may think. The priest who celebrates, breaks the host in three pieces; one of these he puts into the cup, of the two others he communicates, in memory, as it is plain, of what we read, That Jesus, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of me. 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24. In the mass there is here no more bread, they are only the appearances of bread, that is to say, the accidents, and which are not tied to any substance. And yet so long as there is but one atom of those accidents, which they call eucharistical species, in the consecration that has been made, the true flesh of the Lord Jesus is so annexed to them, that it remains there whole and entire, without the least confusion, and may be so in divers places at the same time. I doubt not but those who teach us this doctrine, have thought of it more than once; but have they well considered it? For there is not one word of it in all the sacred writings.

“ Is it nothing that Jesus Christ said to his Apostles but a little while before his passion, when he was now about to celebrate his holy supper with them, You shall have the poor always with you, but me ye shall not have always.” Matth. xxvi. 11; his real presence in the eucharist, out of the act of communicating, not excepted?

“ They say to the people, Behold your Creator, that made

heaven and earth : and the people, seeing the consecrated bread in the Ciboire, wherein it is carried abroad, say, Behold the good God going in procession to confound the heretics : and according to their natural inclination they adore with all their hearts they know not what, because so they have been instructed ; and the better to maintain their prejudice entire in this matter, they become mad : but alas ! they know not what they do, and we ought to pity their excess.

“ On the other side, who can tell whether the priest has consecrated, or indeed whether he be capable of consecrating ? Is it a point of faith to believe, that among so many priests, not one of them is a cheat and an impostor ? This certainly cannot be of faith ; and if this be not, neither is that which is exposed with so much pomp, to carry the true body of the Lord through the streets, of faith. Thus the belief is at best but conjecture ; and then whatsoever, in such cases, is not of faith, is sin, according to the Apostle, Rom. xiv. 23.

“ I know not what colour can be sufficient to excuse so strong an objection, unless men will absolutely resist the holy Scripture, and right reason founded upon it.

“ It is further said, that Jesus Christ is in many places at the same time, in the hosts which are carried in very different manners ; but neither for this is there any texts of Scripture. You will say, this may be ; I answer, the question here is not of the infinite power of Jesus Christ, but of his will, and which we must obey, when it is known to us ; and of this, as to the present point, we read nothing in the holy Scripture. The shorter way then would be to say, that the sacrament of one parish is not the same with that of another, although both the one and the other concur in the same design to worship God ; as the paschal lamb of one family was not the lamb of another, although both the one and the other were to accomplish the same mystery. Thus for instance, on Corpus Christi Day, the sacrament of St. Germain d’Auxerrois, where the perpetual vicar consecrates the host, and Monsieur the Dean, the first curé, carries it in the procession under a rich canopy crowned with flowers ; this host is not the same with that of St. Paul’s, which is carried after another manner, *viz.* the image of that Apostle made of silver gilt, falling from his horse at his conversion, under the sacrament of Jesus Christ, hung up in rays of gold, and carried under the covering of another stately canopy : and so of all the other churches.

“ As for the stories of several hosts that have been stabbed

with penknives, and have bled, they serve only to bring in some superstition contrary to the word of God, which never pretended that there was material blood in the consecrated bread, because it is the body of Jesus Christ in a mystery of faith.

“ For what is said of an infant that was seen in the stead of the host, and of the figure of Christ sitting upon a sepulchre instead of the same host, are mere fables suggested by the father of lies.

“ It is further reported of certain robbers, that carrying away the vessel in which the host is kept, they have thrown the host itself upon the ground, and trampled it under foot, sometimes have cast it into nasty places, without any fear that it should avenge itself; this is a most horrible thought, and of which we ought not to open our mouths, but only to detest so dreadful a profanation.

“ The same must be said of those hosts which have been cast up, as soon as received, whether by sick persons, or sometimes by debauched priests, disordered with the last night’s intemperance; both which have sometimes happened, not to say anything of those other terrible inconveniences, remarked in the cautions concerning the mass. All which shew that men have carried things too far, without any warrant from the word of God.

“ It is not therefore so easy as some may imagine to maintain the doctrine of the real presence out of the use, against the opinions of any opposer.

“ In the mean time, the truth is terribly obscured, and few give themselves the trouble to clear it. On the contrary, it seems, that among the many writers of the age, there are some who make it their whole business to hide it, and to keep themselves from finding it out, as if they desired never to be wiser than they are. The vanity of lying flatters them but too much in all the human passions which sway them.

“ There are, nevertheless, some faithful disciples, and apostolic souls who are exempted, to obey God by his grace, and to give glory to his name. It was not long before his departure, that David said, Every man is a liar, Psalm cxv. 2; and St. Paul to the Romans, iii. 4, to shew that God only is true, adds immediately after, from Psalm l. 6: * That thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest.”

Such was the opinion of Monsieur de Marolles as to this

* Li. 4.

point: I should too much trespass upon the reader's patience, to insist thus particularly upon others of lesser note. The author of the late Historical Treatise of Transubstantiation, has fully shewn not only his own opinion, but the tradition of all the ages of the Church against it: and though I dare not say the same of whoever he was that set forth the *Moyens surs et Honnestes*,* &c. that he did not believe transubstantiation himself, yet this is clear, "that he did not desire any one should be forced to believe it; or indeed be encouraged to search too nicely into the manner how Christ is present and eaten in the holy sacrament."

Whether Monsieur de Meaux believes this doctrine or not, his authority is become of so little importance, that I do not think it worth the while to examine. Yet the first French† Answer to his Exposition observes, that in the suppressed edition of it he had not at all mentioned, "that the bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Christ:" those words in the close of that paragraph which we now read, *viz.* "that the bread and the wine are changed into the proper body and proper blood of Jesus Christ, and that this is that which is called transubstantiation," being put in,‡ for the greater neatness of the discourse and style, since.

But now for his Vindicator, it is evident, if he understands his own meaning, that he is not very well instructed about it. § "It is manifest," says he, "that our dispute with Protestants is not about the manner, how Jesus Christ is present, but only about the thing itself, whether the body and blood of Jesus Christ be truly, really, and substantially present after the words of consecration, under the species, or appearance of bread and wine, the substance of bread and wine being not so present."

* Il nous suffit que J. C. qui est la Verite meme nous ait assure que ce Sacrement est veritablement son Corps, et qu'il ait ordonne de manger sa chair et boire son sang: car il faut absolument qu'il y soit, puis qu'il a nous ordonne de l'y manger, sans s'embarasser l'Esprit de quelle maniere et comment cela se fait. 2 part, p. 102.

† *Advertissement*, n. 14. p. 22. Mr. B. speaking of that edition,—Il n'y avoit en aucun lieu de l'Article, ni le terme de Transubstantiation, ni cette proposition, que 'le pain et le vin sont changez au corps et au sang de J. C. dans la derniere [Edition] apres ces mots, le propre corps et le propre sang de J. C. il a ajoute, auxquelles le pain et le vin sont changez; cest ce qu'on appelle Transubstantiation.'

‡ Monsieur de Meaux Letter of his Alterations; Vind. p. 13, & 117. Pour l'ordre, et pour une plus grande nettete du discours et du style.

§ Vindication of the Bishop of Condom's Expos. p. 83.

In which words, if his meaning be to exclude totally the "manner, how Jesus Christ becomes present in the eucharist," as his expression is, from being a matter of faith, it might well have been ranged amongst the rest of their new Popery, 1686. But if he designs not to exclude the manner of Christ's presence, but only the mode of the conversion, as he seems by some other of his words to insinuate, *viz.* Whether it be by adduction, &c. from being a matter of faith, he ought not then to have denied the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, which their Church has absolutely defined to be by that wonderful and singular conversion so aptly called transubstantiation; but more precisely to have explained his school nicety, and which is altogether as unintelligible, as the mystery which it is brought to explain.

I might to the particulars hitherto mentioned, add the whole sect of their new philosophers, who following the hypothesis of their master Descartes, that accidents are nothing else but the modes of matter, must here either renounce his doctrine, or their Church's belief. But I shall close these remarks, which have already run to a greater length than I designed, with one instance more, from a prelate of our own Church; but yet whose truly Christian sincerity will, I am persuaded, justify him, even to those of the Roman communion: * and it is the learned Archbishop Usher, who having been so happy as to convert several Roman priests from their errors, and inquiring diligently of them, what they who said mass every day, and were not obliged to confess venial sins, could have to trouble their confessors so constantly withal; ingenuously acknowledged to him, that the chiefest part of their constant confession was their infidelity as to the point of transubstantiation, and for which, as was most fit, they mutually quitted and absolved one another.

And now that is thus clear from so many instances of the greatest men in the Roman Church, which this last age has produced; and from whose discovery, we may reasonably enough infer the like of many others that have not come to our knowledge, that several persons who have lived and enjoyed some of the greatest honours and dignities in that com-

* The same is affirmed by Monsieur du Moulin, of several priests in France: Disp. Sedannens. de Sacr. Euch. par. 4. p. 846. Nec abs re de intentione presbyteri dubitatur, cum plurimi Sacerdotes canant Missam reluctante Conscientiâ, quales multos vidimus qui ejurato Papismo fatebantur se diu cecinisse Missam animo à Missâ alienissimo.

munion, have nevertheless been heretics in this point ; may I beseech those who are still misled with this great error, to stop a while, and seriously examine with me two or three plain considerations, and in which, I suppose, they are not a little concerned.

And the first is, of their own danger : but especially upon their own principles.

It is but a very little while since an ingenious person now living in the French Church, the Abbe Petit, published a book which he calls* “The Truths of the Christian Religion proved and defended against the ancient Heresies by the truth of the Eucharist :” and what he means by this truth, he thus declares in his Preface, *viz.* “the change of † the bread into the body of the Son of God, and of the wine into his blood.” He there pretends that this doctrine, “however combated by us now, was ‡ yet more undoubted in the Primitive Church than either the divinity of Christ and the Holy Ghost, or the certainty of our future resurrection.” And this he wrote, as the title tells us,§ to “confirm the new converts in the faith of the Catholic Church ;” meaning, according to their usual figure, the Roman. How far this extravagant undertaking may serve to convince them, I cannot tell ; this I know, that if we may credit those who have been that abbot’s most intimate acquaintance, he believes but very little of it himself, unless he also be become in this point, a new convert.

But now, if what has before been said of so many eminent persons of their Church be true, as after a due and diligent examination of every particular there set down, I must beg leave to profess I am fully persuaded that it is ; it will need no long deduction to shew how dangerous an influence their unbelief must have had, in some of the chiefest instances of their constant worship.

* *Les Veritez de la Religion prouvees et defendues contre les anciennes Heresies, par la verite de l’Eucharistie.* 1686.

† *Que du pain devienne le Corps du fils de Dieu, et du Vin son sang.* Preface, p. 7.

‡ Quoiqu’il n’y ait point presentement de verites plus incontestables que les trois grands articles de nostre foi, qui sont contenus dans le symbole, c’est à dire, la divinite de J. C. la divinite du S. Esprit, et la Resurrection : Cependant j’ose dire que la presence reelle de J. C. au Saint Sacrement etoit une verite encore plus indubitable dans les premiers siecles de l’Eglise. Pref. p. 5.

§ *Traitte pour confirmer les Nouveaux Convertis dans la foi de l’Eglise Catholique.*

For, 1. It is the doctrine of the Council of Trent,* that to make a sacrament, the priest must have, if not an actual, yet at least a virtual intention of doing that which the Church does: and in the rubrics of their Missal,† the want of such an intention in the priest is one of the defects there set down as sufficient to hinder a consecration. Now if this be true, as every Roman Catholic who acknowledges the authority of that Synod must believe it to be; it is then evident, that in all those masses which any of the persons I before-named have said, there could have been no consecration: it being absurd to suppose that they who believed not transubstantiation, could have an intention to make any such change of the bread into the body of Christ, which they thought it impossible to do.

Now if there were no consecration, but that the bread continued mere bread as it was before; then, secondly, all those who attended at their masses, and adored their hosts, paid the supreme worship of God to a bare wafer, and no more. How far the modern plea of their good intention to adore Christ in those sacred offices, may excuse them from having committed idolatry, it is not necessary I should here examine. They who desire a satisfaction in this matter, may please to recur to a late excellent treatise,‡ written purposely on this subject, and where they will find the weakness of this supposal sufficiently exposed. But since§ many of their own greatest men confess, that if any one by mistake should worship an unconsecrated host, taking it to have been consecrated, he would be guilty of idolatry; and that such an error would not be sufficient to excuse him; may they please to consider with what faith they can pay this divine adoration to that which all their senses tell them is but a bit of bread; to the hindrance of whose conversion so many things may interpose, that were their doctrine otherwise as infallible, as we are certain it is false, it would yet be a hundred to one that there is no consecration: in a word, how they can worship that which they

* Concil. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. xi. *Siquis dixerit in ministris dum Sacra menta conficiunt, [et conferunt] non requiri intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia, Anathema sit.* [p. 67. Mechlin. 1826.]

† *Vid. de Defectibus circa Missam, c. de Defectu Intentionis. In Missali. R. [Pars VII. Mechlin. 1840.]*

‡ *A Discourse concerning the Adoration of the Host. Lond. 1685.*

§ *Vid. Catharin. in Cajet. pag. 133. Ed. Paris. 1535. Where he quotes St. Thomas and Paludanus for the same opinion: this book of his was seen and approved by the Pope's order by the Divines at Paris; as himself tells us in the review of it. Lugdun. 1542.*

can never be secure is changed into Christ's body, nay, when, as the examples I have before given, shew, they have all the reason in the world to fear, whether even the priest himself, who says the mass, does indeed believe that he has any power, or by consequence can have any intention, to turn it into the flesh of Christ.

And the same consideration will shew, thirdly, how little security their other plea of concomitance, which they so much insist upon, to shew the sufficiency of their communicating only in one kind, *viz.* "that they receive the blood in the body," can give to the laity, to satisfy their consciences that they ever partake of that blessed sacrament as they ought to do; since whatever is pretended of Christ's body, it is certain there can be none of his blood in a mere wafer: and if by reason of the priest's infidelity, the host should be indeed nothing else, of which we have shewn they can never be sure; neither can they ever know whether what they receive be upon their own principles, an entire communion.

And then, lastly, for the main thing of all, the sacrifice of the mass; it is clear, that if Christ's body be not truly and properly there, it cannot be truly and properly offered; nor any of those great benefits be derived to them from a morsel of bread, which themselves declare can proceed only from the flesh and blood of their blessed Lord.

It is, I know, an easy matter for those who can believe transubstantiation, to believe also that there is no hazard in all these great and apparent dangers. But yet, in matters of such moment, men ought to desire to be well assured, and not exposed even to any possible defects. I do not now insist upon the common remarks, which are yet authorized by their own Missal, and may give just grounds to their fears;* "That if the wafer be not made of wheat, but of some other corn, there is then no consecration: if it be mixed not with common, but distilled water, it is doubtful whether it be consecrated. If the wine be sour to such a certain degree, that then it

* De Defectibus circa Missam: De Defectu Panis. [1.] Si panis non sit triticeus, vel si triticeus, sit admixtus granis alterius generis in tantâ quantitate, ut non maneat panis triticeus, vel sit alioqui corruptus: non conficitur Sacramentum. [2.] Si sit confectus de aquâ rosaceâ vel alterius distillationis, dubium est an conficiatur. Et de defect. vini. Si vinum sit factum penitus acetum, vel penitus putridum, vel de uvis acerbis seu non maturis expressum, vel admixtum tantum aqua ut vinum sit corruptum, non conficitur Sacramentum. [Pars IV. Mechlin. 1840.]

becomes incapable of being changed into the blood of Christ ;" with many more of the like kind, and which render it always uncertain to them, whether there be any change made in the blessed elements or no;* the relations I have given, are not of counterfeit Jews and Moors, who, to escape the danger of the Inquisition, have sometimes become priests, and administered all the sacraments for many years together, without ever having an intention to administer truly any one of them, and of which I could give an eminent instance in a certain Jew now living ; who for many years was not only a priest, but a Professor of Divinity in Spain, and all the while in reality a mere Jew, as he is now. The persons here mentioned were men of undoubted reputation, of great learning and singular esteem in their Church ; and if these found the impossibilities of transubstantiation so much greater than either the pretended authority or infallibility of their Church, certainly they may have just cause to fear, whether many others of their priests do not live in the same infidelity in which these have died, and so expose them to all the hazards now mentioned, and which are undeniably the consequences of such their unbelief.

But these are not the only dangers I would desire those of that communion to reflect on upon this occasion. Another there is, and of greater consequence than any I have hitherto mentioned, and which may, perhaps, extend not only to this holy eucharist, but it may be to the invalidating of most of their other sacraments.† It is the doctrine of the Roman Church, that to the validity of every sacrament, and therefore of that of orders, as well as the rest, three things must concur, "a due matter, a right form, and the person of the minister conferring the sacrament, with an intention of doing what the Church does." Where either of these is wanting, the sacrament is not performed. If therefore the bishop in conferring the holy order of priesthood, has not an intention of doing what the Church does, it is plain that the person to be ordained receives no priestly character of him ; nor by consequence, has any power of consecrating the holy eucharist, or of being hereafter advanced to a higher degree. Now the form

* Du Moulin, in the place above cited, mentions one that in his time was burnt at Loudon for consecrating a host in the name of the devil. Thes. Sedann. Th. 97. n. 10. p. 846. vol. 1.

† Eugenii IV. decret. in Act. Concil. Florent. Ann. 1439. Concil. Labb. tom. 13. p. 535. [Lut. Par. 1672.] Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. Can. xi. [p. 67. Mechlin. 1826.]

of conferring the order of priesthood they determine to be this :* “The bishop delivers the cup with some wine, and the paten with bread into the hands of the person whom he ordains, saying, Receive the power of offering a sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” By which ceremony and words, their Catechism tells us, “he is constituted an interpreter and mediator between God and man; which is to be esteemed the chiefest function of a priest.” So that then the intention necessary to the conferring the order of priesthood is this; to give a power to consecrate, *i. e.* to transubstantiate the host into Christ’s body, and to offer it as a sacrifice for the living and the dead.

If therefore any of their bishops, for instance, Cardinal du Perron, or Monsieur de Marca, did not believe that either the Church, or themselves, as bishops of it, had any authority to confer any such power, they could not certainly have any intention of doing in this case what the Church intends to do. Having no such intention, the persons whom they pretended to ordain, were no priests. Being no priests, they had no power to consecrate. All the hosts therefore, which were either offered or taken, or worshipped in any of the masses celebrated by those priests whom these two bishops ordained, were only mere bread, and not the body of Christ; and as many of them, as being afterwards advanced to a higher dignity, were consecrated bishops, received no episcopal character, because they were destitute of the priestly before. Thus the danger still increases: for by this means, the priests whom they also ordain are no priests; and when any of them shall be promoted to a higher degree, are incapable of being made bishops; and so by the infidelity of these two men, there are at this day infinite numbers of priests and bishops, who say mass, and confer orders, without any manner of power to do either; and in a little time, it may be, there shall not be a true bishop or priest in the whole Gallican Church. But,

II. A second consideration which I would beg leave to offer from the foregoing instances, is this: what reliance we can make upon the pretended infallibility of their Church; when it is thus plain, that many of the most learned men of their

* Ibid. p. 538. Catech. Concil. Trid. de Sacr. Ord. n. 22. p. 222. Item, n. L. p. 228. [Quibus ceremoniis et verbis interpres ac mediator Dei et hominum constituitur. n. 49. p. 274. Paris. 1831.]

own communion did not only not believe it to be infallible, but supposed it to have actually erred ; and that in those very doctrines that are at this day esteemed the most considerable points in difference between us.

It is plain from what has been said in the foregoing reflection, that disbelieving transubstantiation, they must also have looked upon all the other consequences of it, *viz.* the adoration of the host, the sacrifice of the mass, &c. as erroneous too. Now, though it be not yet agreed among them, nor ever likely to be, where the supposed infallibility of their Church is seated, yet since all manner of authority has conspired to establish these things ; Popes have decreed them, Councils defined them, and both Popes and Councils anathematized all those that shall presume to doubt them ; it is evident, either these men did not believe the Church to be infallible, as is pretended ; or they did not believe the Roman to be, according to the modern phrase, indeed the Catholic Church.

III. And upon the same grounds there will arise a third reflection, which they may please to make with us ; and that is, with what reason they can press us with the authority of their Church in these matters ; when such eminent persons of their own communion, and who certainly were much more obliged to it than we can be thought to be, yet did not esteem it sufficient to enslave their belief.

It is a reproach generally cast upon us, that we set up a private spirit in opposition to the wisdom and authority of the Church of God : and think ourselves better able to judge in matters of faith, than the most general Council that was ever yet assembled. This is usually said, but is indeed a foul misrepresentation of our opinion. All we say, is, that every man ought to act rationally in matters of religion, as well as in other concerns ; to employ his understanding with the utmost skill and diligence that he is able, to know God's will, and what it is that he requires of us. We do not set up our own judgments against the authority of the Church ; but having both the holy oracles of God, and the definitions of men before us, we give to each their proper weight. And therefore, if the one at any time contradicts the other, we resolve, as is most fitting, not that our own, but God's authority revealed to us in his word, is to be preferred. And he who without this examination servilely gives up himself to follow whatever is required of him ; he may be in the right, if his Church or guide be so ; but according to this method, shall never be able to give a

reason of his faith ; nor if he chance to be born in a false religion, ever be in a capacity of being better instructed. For if we must be allowed nothing but to obey only, and not presume to inquire why, he that is a Jew must continue a Jew still ; he that is a Turk, a Turk ; a Protestant must always be a Protestant : in short, in whatsoever profession any one now is, in that he must continue, whether true or false, if reason and examination must be excluded all place in matters of religion.

* And indeed after all their clamours against us on this occasion, yet this is no more than what themselves require of us, when it is in order to their own advantage. Is a proselyte to be made, they offer to him their arguments : they tell him a long story of their Church ; the succession, visibility, and other notes of it. To what purpose is all this, if we are not to be judges, to examine their pretences, whether these are sufficient marks of such a Church as they suppose ; and if they are, whether they do indeed agree to theirs ; and then, upon a full conviction, submit to them. Now if this be their intention, it is then clear, let them pretend what they will, that they think us both capable of judging in these matters, and that we ought to follow that, which all things considered, we find to be most reasonable, which is all that we desire.

And for this, we have here the undoubted examples of those eminent persons of their own communion before-named ; who, notwithstanding the authority of their Church, and the decision of so many Councils esteemed by it as general, have yet both thought themselves at liberty to examine their decrees, and even to pass sentence too upon them, that they were erroneous in the points here mentioned. And therefore certainly we may modestly desire the same liberty which themselves take ; at least, till we can be convinced (and that by such arguments as we shall be allowed to judge of), that there is such an infallible guide whom we ought in all things to follow without further inquiry, and where we may find him ; and when this is done, I will, for my part, promise as freely to give up myself to his conduct, as I am, till then, I think reasonably, resolved to follow what, according to the best of my ability in proving all things, I shall find indeed to be good.

IV. I might from the same principles, fourthly, argue the reasonableness of our Reformation, at least in the opinion of

* All this is lately granted by the Catholic Representer. Cap. VI.

those great men of whom we have hitherto been speaking : and who thinking it allowed to them to dissent themselves from the received doctrine of their Church, which they found to be erroneous, could not but in their consciences justify us, who, as a national Church, no way subject to their authority, did the same ; and by the right which every such Church has within itself, reformed those errors, which like the tares were sprung up with the good seed. This it is evident they must have approved ; and for one of them, the Abbot of Ville-loyne, I have been assured by some of his intimate acquaintance, that he had always a particular respect for the Church of England, and which others of their communion at this day esteem to be neither heretical nor schismatical.

V. But I may not insist on these things, and will therefore finish this address with this only remonstrance to them ; that since it is thus evident, that for above 1200 years this doctrine was never established in the Church, nor till then, in the opinion of their own most learned men, any matter of faith ; since the greatest of their writers in the past ages have declared themselves so freely concerning it as we have seen above, and some of the most eminent of their communion in the present have ingenuously acknowledged that they could not believe it ; since it is confessed that the Scripture does not require it, sense and reason undoubtedly oppose it, and the primitive ages of the Church, as one of their own authors has very lately shewn, received it not ; they will at least suffer all these things to dispose them to an indifferent examination, wherefore at last it is that they do believe this great error : upon what authority they have given up their senses to delusion ; their reason to embrace contradictions ; the holy Scripture and antiquity to be submitted to the dictates of two assemblies, which many of themselves esteem to have been rather cabals than Councils : and all to support a doctrine, the most injurious that can be to our Saviour's honour ; destructive in its nature, not only of the certainty of the Christian religion, but of every thing else in the world ; which, if transubstantiation be true, must be all but vision : for that cannot be true, unless the senses of all mankind are deceived in judging of their proper objects ; and if this be so, we can then be sure of nothing.

These considerations, if they shall incline them to an impartial view of the following discourses, they may possibly find somewhat in them, to shew the reasonableness of our

dissent from them in this matter: however, they shall at least, I hope, engage those of our own communion to stand firm in that faith which is thus strongly supported with all sorts of arguments; and convince them how dangerous it is for men to give up themselves to such prejudices, as neither sense nor reason, nor the word of God, nor the authority of the best and purest ages of the Church, are able to overcome.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the Nature of this Holy Sacrament in general.

To understand the true design of our blessed Saviour in the institution of this holy sacrament, we cannot, I suppose, take any better course than to consider first of all, what account the sacred writers have left us of the time and manner of the doing of it.

Now for this, St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. xi. 23, "That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed (having first eaten the passover according to the law, Exod. xii. Matth. xxvi. 20), took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it,* and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

Such is the account which St. Paul gives us of the original of this holy sacrament: nor do the Evangelists dissent from it; only that St. Matthew, with reference to the cup, adds, "Drink ye all of it," Matth. xxvi. 27, to which St. Mark subjoins a particular observation, and which ought not here to be passed by, that "they all drank of it," Mark xiv. 23.

It is not to be doubted, but that the design of our blessed Saviour in instituting this holy sacrament, was to abolish the Jewish passover, and to establish the memory of another, and a much greater deliverance than that of the first-born, now to be wrought for the whole world in his death. The bread which he brake, and the wine which he poured out, being such

* Matth. xxvi. 20.

clear types of his body to be broken, his blood to be shed for the redemption of mankind, that it is impossible for us to doubt of the application.

And as God Almighty under the law, designed that other memorial of the paschal lamb, now changed into a so much better and more excellent remembrance, to continue as long as the law itself stood in force: so this blessed eucharist, established by Christ in the room of it, must, no doubt, have been intended by him to be continued in his Church, as long as the covenant sealed with that blood which it exhibits, stands: and therefore, since that shall never be abolished, it is evident that this also will remain our duty, and be our perpetual obligation to the end of the world.

This is the import of our Saviour's addition, "Do this in remembrance of me;" and is by St. Paul more fully expressed in those words, which he immediately subjoins to the history of the institution before recited, 1 Cor. xi. 26, "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew," *i. e.* in the Jewish phrase, set forth, commemorate, "the Lord's death till he come."

And that this holy sacrament now established in the place of the Jewish passover, might be both the better understood, and the easier received by them; it is a thing much to be remarked for the right explaining of it, how exactly he accommodated all the notions and ideas of that ancient ceremony to this new institution.

I. In that paschal supper, the master of the house took bread, and presenting it before them, instead of the usual benediction of the bread, he brake it, and gave it to them, saying,* "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers eat in Egypt." In this sacred feast, our Saviour in like manner takes bread, the very loaf which the Jews were wont to take for the ceremony before mentioned; breaks it, and gives it to his disciples, saying, "This is my body which is broken for you;" alluding thereby, not only to their ceremony in his action, but even to their very manner of speech in his expression, to the passover before them, which in their language they constantly called, the body of the paschal lamb.†

II. In that ancient feast, the master of the house in like

* See Dr. Hammond on Matt. 26. lit. E. [p. 131. Lond. 1675.] Casaubon in Matt. 26. 26, &c.

† גּוֹפֵו שֵׁל פֶּסְחָה Vid. Buxtorf. Vindic. contr. Capel. p. 14. Hammond. in Matt. 26. l. c. &c. [Ibid.]

manner after supper took the cup, and having given thanks, gave it to them, saying,* “This is the fruit of the vine, and the blood of the grape.” In this holy sacrament our blessed Lord in the very same manner takes the cup, he blesses it, and gives it to his disciples, saying, “This cup is the new testament in my blood;” his action being again the very same with theirs; and for his expression, it is that which Moses used, when he ratified the ancient covenant between God and the Jews (Exod. xxiv. 8, compared with Heb. ix. 20), saying, “This is the blood of the testament.”

III. In that ancient feast, after all this was finished, they were wont to sing a hymn,† the Psalms yet extant, from the cxiii. to the cxix, thence called by them “the great Hallelujah.” In this holy supper, our Saviour and his disciples are expressly recorded to have done the like, and very probably in the self-same words. (See Math. xxvi. 30, Mark xiv. 26.) In a word, lastly,

IV. That ancient passover the Jews were commanded to keep in memory of their deliverance out of Egypt. The bitter herbs were a remembrance‡ of the bitter servitude they underwent there, Exod. i. 14. The red wine was a memorial§ of the blood of the children of Israel slain by Pharaoh: and for this, they were expressly commanded by Moses, Exod. xiii. 8,|| to shew, *i. e.* to annunciate, or tell forth to their children what the Lord had done for them. And so in this holy sacrament, Christ expressly institutes it for the same end,¶ “Do this,” says he, “in remembrance of me;” which St. Paul thus explains, 1 Cor. xi. 26, “For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do (or rather *do ye*) shew** (the very word before used) the Lord’s death till he come.”

So clear an allusion does every part of this sacrament bear to that ancient solemnity; and we must be more blind than the Jews themselves, not to see, that as that other sacrament of baptism was instituted by Christ from the practice and custom of the Jewish doctors,†† who received their proselytes by the like washing; so was this holy eucharist established

* Allix *Preparat. a la Sainte Cene.* cap. 2. p. 16.

† Doctor Lightfoot’s *Heb. and Talmud. Observat.* on *Math. xxvi.* ver. 26, 27. t. 2. p. 258, 260. [vol. 11. p. 326. Lond. 1823.]

‡ זכר.

¶ Εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

** Τὸν Θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε.

†† See Dr. Hammond’s *Practical Catechism*, lib. 6. p. 115. Oper. fol. Lond. 1684.

לזכר.

וְהַנְדָת לְבָנָך.

upon the analogy which we have seen to the paschal supper, whose place it supplies, and whose ceremonies it so exactly retains, that it seems only to have heightened the design, and changed the application to a more excellent remembrance.

I know not how far it may be allowed to confirm this analogy, that it was one of the most ancient traditions among the Jews of old,* that the Messiah should come and work out their deliverance, “the very same night in which God had brought them out of Egypt, the night of the paschal solemnity.” But certainly considerable it is, that as God under the law, the same night in which he delivered them, instituted the passover to be a perpetual memorial of it throughout their generations; so here our Saviour instituted his communion not only in the same night in which he delivered us, but immediately after having eaten his last passover; to shew us, that what that solemnity had hitherto been to the Jews, this sacrament should from henceforth be to us; and that we by this ceremony should commemorate ours, as they by that other had been commanded to do their deliverance.

This the holy Scriptures themselves direct us to, by so often calling our blessed Saviour in express terms, “the Lamb of God,” John i. 29. St. Peter, speaking of our redemption wrought by him, tells us, that it was not obtained by “corruptible things, such as silver and gold, but by the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot,” 1 Pet. i. 18. And St. Paul so clearly directs us to this allusion, that no possible doubt can remain of it; “Christ,” says he, “our passover, is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast,” 2 Cor. i. 7.

And now, after so many arguments for this application, as, being joined together, I think I might almost call a demonstration of it; I suppose I may, without scruple, lay down this foundation both for the unfolding of the nature of this holy sacrament in the general, and for the examination of those two great points I am here to consider in particular, *viz.* that our Saviour in this institution addressing himself to Jews, and speaking in the direct form of the paschal phrases; and in a ceremony which it is thus evident he designed to introduce in the stead of that solemnity; the best method we can take for explaining both the words and intent of this communion, will

* Vid. Fagium in Annotat. in Exod. xii. 13. where he renders their words thus, “Et in eadem die, *viz.* xv. mensis Nisan, sc. Martii, redimendus est Israel in diebus Messiae.” Vid. Vol. 1. Critic. M. p. 498. [p. 204. Amstel. 1698.]

be to examine what such men to whom he spake must necessarily have conceived to be his meaning, but especially on an occasion wherein it neither became him to be obscure ; and the Apostles' silence, not one of them demanding any explication of his words, as at other times they were wont to do, clearly shewing that he was not difficult to be understood.

This only postulate being granted, which I think I have so good reason to expect ; I shall now go on to examine by it, the first great point proposed to be considered, *viz.* of the Real Presence of Christ in this holy sacrament, and that

1st, As established by the Church of Rome.

2ndly, As acknowledged by the Church of England.

PART I.—CHAP. I.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION,

Or the Real Presence established by the Church of Rome.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION is defined by the Council of Trent,* to be “a wonderful conversion of the whole substance of the bread, in this holy sacrament, into the whole substance of the body of Christ, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood ; the species or accidents only of the bread and wine remaining.”

For the better understanding of which wonderful conversion, because the Church of Rome, which is not very liberal in any of her instructions, has taken particular care† that this should not be too much explained to the people, as well knowing it to be a doctrine so absurd, that even their credulity could hardly be able to digest it ; it may not be amiss, if, from the very words of their own Catechism, we examine a little farther into it.

Now three things there are, which, they tell us, must be considered in it :

I.‡ “That the true body of Christ our Lord, the very same

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 13. cap. 4. et Can. 2. [p. 94. 99. Mechlin. 1826.]

† Catechismus ad Parochos. Par. II. cap. de Euch. Sacr. n. xxxix. xli. xlv. [p. 191, 192. Paris. 1831.]

‡ Catech. ibid. n. xxv. Sect. Primam, [n. 183.]

that was born of the Virgin, and now sits in heaven at the right hand of the Father, is contained in this sacrament.”

“Now by the true body, they mean not only his human body, and whatsoever belongs to it, as bones, sinews, &c. to be contained in this sacrament; but the entire Christ, God and man;* so that the eucharistical elements are changed into our Saviour, as to both his substances, and the consequences of both, his blood, soul, and divinity itself, all which are really present in this sacrament;† the body of Christ by the consecration, the rest by concomitance with the body.”

Again: When it is said,‡ “that the whole substance of the bread is changed into his whole body, and the whole substance of the wine into his whole blood; this is not to be so understood, as if the bread did not contain the whole substance of his blood, as well as of his body, and so the wine, the whole substance of his body, as well as of his blood;§ seeing Christ is entire in each part of the sacrament, nay, in every the least crumb or drop, of either part.”

II. “The second thing to be considered for the understanding of this mystery is, that not any part of the substance of the bread and wine remains; though nothing may seem more contrary to the senses than this;”|| in which they are certainly in the right.

III. “That the accidents of the bread and wine, which either our eyes see (as the colour, form, &c.) or our other senses perceive (as the taste, touch, smell), all these are in no subject, but exist by themselves, after a wonderful manner, and which cannot be explained.”¶

For the rest, the conversion itself:** “It is very difficult to be comprehended, how Christ’s body, which before consecration was not in the sacrament, should now come to be there, since it is certain that it changes not its place, but is still all

* Ibid. n. xxxi. Sect. *Totus Christus ut Deus et Homo in Eucharistia continetur.* [Jam vero hoc loco a pastoribus explicandum est non solum verum Christi corpus et quidquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet velut ossa et nervos sed etiam totum Christum in hoc sacramento contineri. p. 187. Paris. 1831.]

† Ibid. n. xxxiii. Sect. *Per Concomitantiam in Euch. quæ sint.* [p. 188.]

‡ Ibid. n. xxxix. Sect. *Conversio quæ fit in Euchar[istia ut caute populis explicanda.* p. 191.]

§ Ibid. n. xxxv. Sect. *Christus totus in qualibet particula, et n. xlvi. &c.* [p. 189.] || Ibid. n. xxv. Sect. *Secundum.* [p. 183.]

¶ Ibid. n. xxv. Sect. *Tertium et n. xlvi. Sect. Accid. sine subjecto const. in Euch.* [p. 184, 193.]

** Ibid. n. xxxvii. Sect. *Prima notio.* [Primo: ratione.] [p. 189.]

the while in heaven. Nor is it made present there by creation,* nor by any other change ; for it is neither increased nor diminished, but remains whole in its substance as before.† Christ is not in the sacrament locally ; for he has no quantity there ; is neither great nor little.‡ In a word, men ought not to inquire too curiously, how this change can be made, for it is not to be comprehended, seeing neither in any natural changes, nor indeed in the whole creation, is there any example of any thing like it.”

Such is the account which themselves give of this mystery : from all which we may in short conclude the state of the question before us, to be this ; that we do not dispute at all about Christ’s real presence, which after a spiritual and heavenly manner we acknowledge in this holy eucharist, as we shall hereafter shew ; nor by consequence, of the truth of Christ’s words which we undoubtedly believe : but only about the manner of his presence, *viz.* whether the bread and the wine be changed into the very natural body and blood of Christ, so that the bread and wine themselves do no longer remain ; but that under the appearance of them is contained that same body of Christ, which was born of the blessed Virgin, with his soul and divinity ; which same body of Christ, though extended in all its parts in heaven, is at the same time in the sacrament without any extension, neither great nor small, comes thither neither by generation, nor by creation, nor by any local motion ; forasmuch as it continues still at the right hand of God in heaven, at the very same instant that it exists whole and entire in every consecrated host, or chalice ; nay, more, is whole and entire, not only in the whole host, or the whole chalice ; but in every the least crumb of the host, and every the least drop of the chalice, here upon earth.

And here it might well be thought a very needless, indeed an extravagant undertaking, to prove that those elements, which so many of our senses tell us, continue after their consecration the very same, as to what concerns their natural substance, that they were before, are in reality the very same : that what all the world sees, and feels, and smells, and tastes to be bread and wine, is not changed into the very natural flesh and blood of a body actually before existent ; had it not entered into the minds of so great a part of the Christian Church to join in the

* Ibid. n. xxxix. Sect. Conversio quæ fit in Eucharistia. [p. 191.]

† Ibid. n. xliii. Quonam modo Christus existat in Eucharistia. [p. 192.]

‡ Ibid. n. xli. Sect. De Transubstantiatione curiosius non inquirendum. [Ibid.]

maintaining of a paradox, which has nothing to defend it, but that fond presumption they have certainly done well to take up, that they cannot possibly be in the wrong, and without which it would be very difficult for them to persuade any sober man that they are here in the right.

To shew that those words, which they tell us work all this miracle, and are the only reason that engages them to maintain so many absurdities as are confessedly the unavoidable consequences of this doctrine, have no such force, nor interpretation, as they pretend ; I must desire it may be remembered what I before remarked, that this holy sacrament was established by our Saviour in the room of the Jewish passover, and upon the very words and ceremonies of it. So that, if in that all things were typical ; the feast, the customs, the expressions merely allusive to something that had been done before, and of which this sacred ceremony was the memorial ; we ought in all reason to conclude, that both our Saviour must have designed, and his Apostles understood this holy sacrament to have been the same too.

Now as to the nature of the passover, we have already seen that it was appointed by God as a remembrance of his delivery of the Jews out of the land of Egypt, when he slew all the first-born of the Egyptians, Exod. xii. The lamb which they eat every year in this feast, was an eucharistical sacrifice and type of that first lamb which was slain in the night of their deliverance, and whose blood sprinkled upon the posts of their doors had preserved their forefathers from the destroying angel, that he should not do them any mischief. The bread of affliction, which they broke, and of which they said, perhaps in the very same manner that Christ did of the very same loaf,* “Take, eat, this is the bread of affliction which our fathers eat in Egypt ;” they esteemed a type and figure of that unleavened bread which their forefathers so many ages before had eaten there ; and upon that account called it† “The memorial of their delivery out of Egypt.”‡ The cup of blessing which they blessed, and of which they all drank in the feast, they did it at once in memory both of the blood of the children of Israel slain by Pharaoh, and of the blood of the lamb, which being sprinkled upon their doors, preserved their own from being shed with that of the Egyptians.

* Vid. Cameron. Annot. in Matt. xxvi. 26. in illa verba, Λάβετε, φάγετε, inter critic. p. 780. l. 24. [Francof. ad Moen. 1696.]

† Allix. Serm. p. 503.

‡ Hammond Pract. Catech. lib. 6. p. 167. Ed. fol. [Lond. 1674.]

Now all these ideas with which the Apostles had so long been acquainted, could not but presently suggest to them the same design of our blessed Saviour in the institution of this holy sacrament: that when he, as the master of the feast, took the loaf, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and bid them in like manner henceforward, do this in remembrance of him; he certainly designed that by this ceremony, which hitherto they had used in memory of their deliverance out of Egypt, they should now continue the memory of their blessed Lord, and of that deliverance which he was about to work for them. That as by calling the lamb in that feast, "the body of the passover," they understood that it was the remembrance of God's mercy in commanding the destroying angel to pass over their houses when he slew their enemies; the memorial of the lamb which was killed for this purpose in Egypt; so Christ calling the bread his body, nay, his body broken for them, could certainly mean nothing else but that it was the type, the memorial of his body, which as yet was not, but was now just ready to be given for their redemption.

This is so natural a reflection, and in one part at least of this holy sacrament so necessary too, that it is impossible to explain it otherwise. "This cup," says our Saviour, "is the new testament in my blood;" that is, as Moses* had before said of the Old Testament in the very same phrase, the seal, the ratification of it. Now if those words be taken literally, then, 1st, It is the cup that is transubstantiated, not the wine: 2ndly, It is changed not into Christ's blood (as they pretend), but into the new testament in his blood; which being confessedly absurd and impossible, it must in all reason follow, that the Apostles understood our Saviour alike in both his expressions; and that by consequence we ought to interpret those words, "This is my body which is broken for you," of the bread's being the type, or figure of his body; as we must that of the cup, that it was the new testament in his blood, *i. e.* the sign or seal of the new testament.

So naturally do all these notions direct us to a figurative interpretation of his words; the whole design of this institution, and all the parts and ceremonies of it being plainly typical, in remembrance (as Christ himself has told us) of him. But now, if we go on more particularly to inquire into the expression itself, "This is my body which is broken for you," that will yet more clearly confirm this interpretation.

* See Exod. xxiv. 8. Heb. ix. 20. And this allusion is applied by St. Peter, 1 Ep. i. 2. Vid. Hammond. Annot. in loc. lit. a. [p. 790. Lond. 1675.]

It has before been observed, that these words of our Saviour in this holy sacrament were used by him instead of that other expression of the master in the paschal feast, when in the very same manner he took the very same bread into his hands, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to those who were at the table with him, saying, "This is the bread of affliction which our fathers eat in Egypt." And can any thing in the world be more plain, than that as never any Jew yet imagined, that the bread which they thus took every year, was by that saying of the master of their feast changed into the very substance of that bread which their forefathers had so many ages before consumed in Egypt, in the night of their deliverance ; but being thus broken and given to them, became a type, a figure, a memorial of it : so neither could those to whom our Saviour Christ now spake, and who, as being Jews, had so long been used to this phrase, ever imagine, that the pieces of that loaf which he brake and gave them, saying, "This is my body which is broken for you ; do this in remembrance of me," became thereupon the very body of that Saviour from whose hands they received it ; and who did not sure with one member of his body, give away his whole body from himself to them ; but only designed that by this ceremony they should remember him, and his body broken for them, as by the same they had hitherto remembered the bread of affliction which their fathers eat in Egypt.

I ought not to omit it, because it very much confirms the force of this argument, that what I have here said of this analogy of the holy eucharist to the Jewish passover, was not the original remark of any Protestant, or indeed of any other Christian differing from the Church of Rome in this point : but was objected to them long before the Reformation by the Jews themselves,* to shew that in their literal interpretation of these words, they had manifestly departed from the intention of our blessed Saviour, and advanced a notion in which it was impossible for his Apostles, or any other acquainted, as they were, with the paschal forms, ever to have understood him. And if St. Augustine,† who, I suppose, will not be thought a heretic by either party, may be allowed to speak for the Christians ; he tells us, we are to look upon the phrase, "This

* Vid. apud Author. Fortalitii Fidei, lib. 4. [lib. 3.] Consid. 6. Impos. 10. [fol. cxxxii. p. 2. col. 2. Nuremb. 1494.] Those who have not this book, may find the quotation at large in the late edition of Joan. Parisiensis, in Præfat. p. 73, 74.

† Epistol. 23. ad Bonifac. vol. 2. p. 29. Oper. Ed. Lugd. 1664.

is my body," just, says he, "as when in ordinary conversation we are wont to say, this is Christmas, or Good-Friday, or Easter-Day ; not that this is the very day on which Christ was born, or suffered, or rose from the dead, but the return or remembrance of that day on which Christ was born, or suffered, or rose again."

It is wonderful to consider with what confidence our new missionaries produce these words on all occasions ; and thereby shew us how fond they would be of the holy Scripture, and how willingly they would make it their guide in controversy, did it but ever so little favour their cause. Can any thing, say they, be more express ? "This is my body ;" is it possible for words to be spoken more clear and positive ? And, indeed, were all the expressions of holy Scripture to be taken in their literal meaning, I will not deny, but that those words might as evidently prove bread to be Christ's body, as those other in St. John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," argue a contrary transubstantiation of Christ's body into bread, John vi. 48, 51 ; or those more usual instances, "I am the true vine ;" "I am the door of the sheep ;" "that rock was Christ ;" prove a great many transubstantiations more, *viz.* of our Saviour into a vine, a door, and a rock. But now, if for all this plainness and positiveness in these expressions, they themselves tell us, that it would be ridiculous to conclude from hence, that Christ was indeed turned into all these, and many other the like things ; they may please to give us leave to say the same of this before us, it being neither less impossible, nor less unreasonable to suppose bread to be changed into Christ's body, than for Christ's body to be changed into bread, a vine, a door, a rock, or whatever you please of the like kind.

But I have already shewn the ground of this mistake to be their want of considering the customs and phrases of the Jewish passover, and upon which both the holy eucharist itself, and these expressions in it were founded : and I will only add this farther, in confirmation of it ; that in the style of the Hebrew language in general, there is nothing more ordinary than for things to be said to* be that which they signify or represent. Thus Joseph interpreting Pharaoh's dream,

* Expressions of this kind are very frequent in Holy Scripture. "The seed is the word of God," Luke viii. 11. "The field is the world : the good seed are the children of the kingdom : the tares are the children of the wicked one," Matth. xiii. 38. "The seven angels are the angels of the seven churches ; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches," Rev. i. 20 : with infinite more of the like kind.

Gen. xli. 26, "The seven good kine," says he, "are seven years ;" and again, "The seven good ears of corn are seven years," *i. e.* as is plain, they signify seven years. And so in like manner in this place ; "Christ took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat ; this is my body which is broken for you :" that is, this bread thus taken, and blessed, and broken, and given to you ; this bread, and this action, signifies and represents my body which shall be broken for you.

And indeed, after all this seeming assurance, it is nevertheless plain, that they themselves are not very well satisfied with their own interpretation. We have shewn before,* how little confidence their greatest Schoolmen had of this doctrine ; those who have stood the most stiffly for it, could never yet† agree how to explain these words, so as to prove it : and Cardinal Bellarmine alone, who reckons up the most part of their several ways, and argues the weakness too of every one but his own, may be sufficient to assure us, that they are never likely to be : and might serve to shew what just cause their their own great Catharinus‡ had so long since to cry out, upon his inquiry only into the meaning of the very first word, *This* : "Consider," says he, "reader, into what difficulties they are thrown, who go about to write upon this matter, when the word *THIS* only has had so many, and such contradictory expositions, that they are enough to make a man lose his wits, but barely to consider them all."

It was this forced so many of their§ greatest and most learned men before Luther, ingenuously to profess, that there was not in Scripture any evident proof of this doctrine ; and even Cardinal Cajetan since to own, that had not the Church determined for the literal sense of those words, "This is my body," they might have passed in the metaphorical.

It is the general acknowledgment of their|| greatest writers

* See the Preface.

† See their Opinions collected by Monsieur Aubertine de Eucharistia, lib. 1. cap. 9, 11, 12, 13, 14. ‡ Tract. 2. de Verbis quibus Conficitur.

§ See their Testimonies cited in the late Historical Treatise of Transubstantiation ; in the Defence of the Exposition of the Church of England, p. 63, 64, 65. In the Preface above, &c.

|| See Bellarmine's words in the Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, p. 56, 57. To which may be added, Salmer. tom. 9. Tr. 20. [p. 139. Colon. Agr. 1604.] Suarez. Disp. 58. sect. 7. [vol. 18. p. 611, &c. Venet. 1747.] Vasquez. Disp. 201. c. 1, &c.

at this day, that if the pronoun **THIS** in that proposition, “This is my body,” be referred to the bread, which our Saviour Christ held in his hand, which he blessed, which he brake and gave to his disciples, and of which therefore certainly, if of any thing, he said, “This is my body,” the natural repugnancy that there is between the two things affirmed of one another, bread and Christ’s body, will force them to be taken in a figurative interpretation: forasmuch as it is impossible that bread should be Christ’s body otherwise than in a figure. And however, to avoid so dangerous a consequence, they will rather apply it to anything, nay to nothing at all, than to the bread; yet they would do well to consider, whether they do not thereby fall into as great a danger on the other side; since if the relative **THIS** does not determine those words to the bread, it is evident that nothing in that whole proposition does; and then how those words shall work so great a change in a subject to which they have no manner of relation, will, I believe, be as difficult to shew, as the change itself is incomprehensible to conceive.

And now, after so plain an evidence of the weakness of that foundation, which is by all confessed to be the chief, and has by many of the most learned of that Church, been thought the only pillar of this cause; I might well dispense with myself from entering on any farther examination of their other pretences to establish it. But because they have taken great pains of late to apply the sixth chapter of St. John* to the holy eucharist, though it might be sufficient in general to say, that no good argument for a matter of such consequence, can be built upon a place which so many of the† most eminent

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 13. [ut supra, p. 94, 98.]

† See them thus ranged by Albertinus de Euch. lib. 1. cap. 30. p. 299. Two Popes; Innocent III. Pius II. Four Cardinals, Bonaventure, D’Alliaco, Cusan, Cajetan. Two Archbishops; Richardus Armachanus, and Guerierius Granatensis. Five Bishops; Stephanus Eduensis, Durandus Mimatus, Gulielmus Altisiodorensis, Lindanus Ruremondensis, and Jansenius Gandavensis. Doctors and Professors of Divinity in great abundance; Alexander Alensis, Richardus de media villa, Jo. Gerson, Jo. de Ragusio, Gabriel Biel, Thomas Waldensis, Author. tract. contr. perfidiam quorundam Bohemorum, Jo. Maria Verratus, Tilmannus Segebergensis, Astesanus, Conradus, Jo. Ferus, Conradus Sasgerus, Jo. Hesselius, Ruardus Tapperus, Palatius, and Rigaltius. Here are thirty of the Roman Church, who reject this application of this Chapter. For the Fathers, see the learned Paraphrase lately set forth of this Chapter, in the Preface: all which shews how little strength any argument from this Chapter can have to establish Transubstantiation.

and learned of that communion have judged not to have the least relation to this matter ; yet I will nevertheless beg leave very briefly to shew the weakness of this second attempt too ; and that it is in vain that they rally these scattered forces, whilst their main body continues so entirely defeated.

It is a little surprising in this matter, that they universally tell us, that neither the beginning nor ending of our Saviour's discourse in that chapter belongs to this matter ; that both before and after that passage which they refer to, it is all metaphor ; only just two or three words for their purpose literal. But that which raises our wonder to the highest pitch, is, that the very fifty-first verse itself, on which they found their argument, is two-thirds of it figure, and only otherwise in one clause to serve their hypothesis.

"I am," says our Saviour, "the living bread which came down from heaven ;" this is figurative : "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever :" that is, they say, by a spiritual eating by faith : "And the bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." This only must be understood of a proper manducation, of a real eating of his flesh in this holy sacrament.

It must be confessed, that this is an arbitrary way of explaining indeed, and becomes the character of a Church whose dictates are to be received, not examined ; and may therefore pass well enough amongst those, with whom the supposed infallibility of their guides is thought a sufficient dispensation for their own private consideration. But for us, who can see no reason for this sudden change of our Saviour's discourse ; nay, think that the connexion of that last clause with the foregoing, is an evident sign that they all keep the same character ; and are therefore not a little scandalized at so Caper-naitical a comment, as indeed "Who can bear it ?" ver. 60. They will please to excuse us, if we take our Saviour's interpretation to be at least of as good an authority, as it is much more reasonable than theirs, ver. 62, "Does this," says he, "offend you ? Does my saying that ye must eat my flesh, and drink my blood, scandalize you ? Mistake not my design, I mean not any carnal eating of me ; that indeed might justly move your horror : It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing ; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."

He that desires a fuller account of this chapter, may please

to recur to the late excellent Paraphrase* set out on purpose to explain it, and which will be abundantly sufficient to shew the reasonableness of that interpretation which we give of it. I shall only add, to close all, that one remark which St. Augustine† has left us concerning it, and so much the rather in that it is one of the rules which he lays down for the right interpreting of holy Scripture, and illustrates with this particular example: "If," says he, "the saying be preceptive, either forbidding a wicked action, or commanding to do that which is good, it is no figurative saying: but if it seems to command any villainy, or wickedness, or forbid what is profitable and good, it is figurative. This saying, Except ye eat of the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you, seems to command a villainous or wicked thing: it is therefore a FIGURE, enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and to lay it up in dear and profitable remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes."

And now having thus clearly, I persuade myself, shewn the weakness of those grounds on which this doctrine of the substantial change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in this holy Sacrament is established, I shall but very little insist on any other arguments against it: only in a word, to demonstrate, that all manner of proofs fail them in this great error, I will in the close here subjoin two or three short considerations more, to shew this doctrine opposite, not only to holy Scripture, as we have seen, but also,

1. To the best and purest tradition of the Church.
2. To the right reason, and
3. To the common senses of all mankind.

I. That this Doctrine is opposite to the best and purest Tradition of the Church.

Now to shew this, I shall not heap together a multitude of quotations out of those Fathers, through whose hands this tradition must have passed: he that desires such an account, may find it fully done by one of the Roman communion, in a little‡

* A Paraphrase with Notes, and a Preface upon the sixth Chapter of St. John, Lond. 1686.

† De Doctrin. Christian. lib. 3. cap. 16. [vol. 3. p. 91. Par. 1836.]

‡ A Treatise of Transubstantiation, by one of the Church of Rome, &c. Printed for Rich. Chiswell, 1687.

Treatise just now published in our own language. I will rather take a method that seems to me less liable to any just exception, and that is, to lay down some general remarks of undoubted truth, and whose consequence will be as evident, as their certainty is undeniable. And,

I. For the *expressions* of the holy Fathers ; it is not denied, but that in their popular discourses,* they have spared no words (except that of transubstantiation, which not one of them ever used) to set off so great a mystery. And I believe that were the sermons and devotional treatises of our own divines alone, since the Reformation, searched into, one might find expressions among them as much over-strained. And doubtless these would be as strong an argument to prove transubstantiation now the doctrine of the Church of England, as those to argue it to have been the opinion of those primitive ages.†

But now, let us consult these men in their more exact com- posures, when they come to teach, not to declaim, and we shall find they will then tell us, that these elements are for their substance what they were before, bread and wine :‡ that they retain the true properties of their nature, to nourish and feed the body : that they are things inanimate, and void of sense : that with reference to the holy sacrament they are images, figures, signs, symbols, memorials, types and antitypes of the body and blood of Christ : that in their use and benefit, they are indeed the very body and blood of Christ to every faithful receiver, but in a spiritual and heavenly manner, as we confess : that in propriety of speech, the wicked receive not in this holy sacrament the body and blood of Christ, although they do outwardly press with their teeth the holy elements ; but rather

* Such are *μεταποίησις*, *μεταβολή*, *μεταρρύθμησις*, *μετάληψις*, *μεταστοιχείωσις*, but never *μετονομασία*. And note, there is hardly any of these words, which they have applied to the bread and wine in the Eucharist, but they have attributed the same to the water in Baptism.

† See Treatise first, of the Adoration, &c. Printed lately at Oxford ; which would make the world believe that we hold I know not what imaginary Real Presence on this account ; just as truly as the Fathers did Transubstantiation.

‡ It is not necessary to transcribe the particulars here that have been so often and fully alleged. Most of these expressions may be found in the Treatise of Transubstantiation lately published. The rest may be seen in Blondel, Eclaircissements Familiers de la Controversie de l'Eucharistie, chap. 4, 7, 8. Claude Rep. au. 2. Traitte de la Perpetuite, 1. Part. chap. 4, 5. Forbesius Instructiones Historico-Theolog. lib. 11. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15. [p. 561, &c. Amstel. 1645.] Larroque Histoire de l'Eucharistie, liv. 2. chap. 2.

eat and drink the sacrament of his body and blood to their damnation.

II. Secondly, for our Saviour's words, which are supposed to work this great change, it is evident from the Liturgies of the Eastern Church, that the Greek Fathers* did not believe them to be words of consecration; but to be the same in this holy eucharist that the Haggadah, or history of the passover, was in that ancient feast; that is, were read only as an account of the occasion and design of the institution of this blessed sacrament, not to work any miracles in the consecration. And for the African Churches,† they at this day expound them in this very sacrament after such a manner, as themselves confess to be inconsistent with transubstantiation, *viz.* "This bread is the body of Christ."

III. Let it be considered, thirdly, that it was a great debate in the Primitive Church for above a thousand years, whether Christ's glorified body had any blood in it or no? Now how those men could possibly have questioned whether Christ's glorified body had any blood at all in it,‡ had they then believed the cup of eucharist to have been truly and really changed into the blood of his glorified body, as is now asserted, is what will hardly, I believe, be ever told us.

IV. We will add to this, fourthly, their manner of opposing the heathenism of the world. With what confidence could they have rallied them as they did, for worshipping gods which their own hands had made? that had neither voice, nor life, nor motion; exposed to age, to corruption, to dust, to worms,

* This Arcudius himself is forced to confess of some of the later Greeks, *viz.* That they take these words only *διηγηματικῶς*, historically. See his Book de Concord. lib. 3. cap. 27. [c. 28.] [p. 223. col. 2. Lut. Par. 1626.] And indeed all the ancient Liturgies of that Church plainly speak it; however, both he and Goar endeavour to shift it off; in which the Prayer of Consecration is after the words of institution, and distinct from it. So in Liturg. S. Chrysostom. Edition. Goar. p. 76. n. 130, 132, [Lut. Par. 1647.] are pronounced the words of institution. Then p. 77. numb. 139, the Deacon bids the Priest, *Εἰλόγησον δέσποτα τὸν ἄγιον ἄρτον.* Who thereupon thus consecrates it; he first signs it three times with the sign of the cross, and then thus prays, *Ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σοῦ.* And so the cup afterwards.

† The same seems to have been the custom of the African Church, whose prayers, now used, see in Ludolph. Histor. 1. 3. cap. 5. Where is also the expression mentioned, n. 56. *Hic Panis est Corpus meum, &c.*

‡ See this whole matter deduced through the first ages to St. Augustine, whom Consentius consulted about this very matter, in a particular Treatise written by Monsieur Allix, *de Sanguine Christi*, 8vo. Paris. 1680.

to fire, and other accidents. That they adored gods which their enemies could spoil them of, thieves and robbers take from them ; which having no power to defend themselves, were forced to be kept under locks and bolts to secure them.*

For is not the eucharistical bread and wine, in a higher degree than any of their idols were, exposed to the same raillery ? Had their wafer, if such then was their host, any voice, or life, or motion ? Did not their own hands form its substance, and their mouths speak it into a God ? Could it defend itself, I do not say from public enemies, or private robbers, but even from the very vermin, the creeping things of the earth ?

Or should we suppose the Christians to have been so impudent, as notwithstanding all this, to expose others for the same follies of which themselves were more notoriously guilty ; yet were there no heathens, that had wit enough to recriminate ?† The other articles of our faith they sufficiently traduced ;‡ that we should worship a man, and he too a malefactor, crucified by Pilate ; how would they have triumphed, could they have added, that they worshipped a bit of bread too ; which Coster himself thought a more ridiculous idolatry than any the heathens were guilty of ? Since this doctrine has been started, we have heard of the reproaches of all sorts of men, Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, against us on this account. § Were there no apostates that could tell them of this secret before ? Not any Julian that had malice enough to publish their confusion ? Certainly, had the ancients been the men they are now endeavoured to be represented, we had long ere this seen the whole world filled with the writings that had proclaimed their shame, in one of the greatest instances of impudence and inconsideration, to attack their enemies for that very crime of which themselves were more notoriously guilty.

V. Nor does their manner of disputing against the heretical Christians any less speak their opinion in this point, than

* So Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. [Apol. 1. p. 58. Par. 1742.] Tertul. Apolog. cap. 12. [p. 13. Par. 1675.] Arnobius, lib. 1. [p. 256. Par. 1842.] Minutius Felix, p. 26. Octav. Julius Firmicus, p. 37. Edit. Lugdunens. 4to. 1652. Hieron. lib. 12. in Esai. [vol. 4. p. 497. Veron. 1735.] St. Augustinus in Psal. 80. et in Psal. 113. [vol. 4. p. 1234, 1796. Par. 1836.] Lactantius Instit. lib. 2. cap. 4. [vol. 2. p. 93. Par. 1842.] Chrysostom. Homil. 57. in Genes. &c. [vol. 4. p. 644. Par. 1837.]

† And yet that none did, the learned Rigaltius confesses. Not. ad Tertul. 1. 2. ad Uxor. c. 5. [p. 169. col. 1. Par. 1675.]

‡ See Tertul. Apol. c. 21. [Ibid. p. 21.] Et de Carne Christi, c. 4, 5. [Ibid. p. 309, 310.] Justin Martyr, Apol. 2. [Apol. 1.] [ut supra, p. 51.] Arnob. 1. 2. Orig. contr. Cels. 1. 1. [vol. 2. p. 9, &c. Par. 1842.]

§ See du Peron de l'Euchar. 1. 3. c. 29. p. 973. [Par. 1622.]

their way of opposing the idolatry of the heathens.* It was a great argument amongst them to expose the frenzy of Eutyches, who imagined some such kind of transubstantiation of the human nature of Christ into the divine, to produce the example of the eucharist ; that as there the bread and the wine, says P. Gelasius, “ being perfected by the Holy Spirit, pass into the divine substance, yet so as still to remain in the property of their own nature, or substance of bread and wine ; so here the human nature of Christ still remains, though assumed by, and conjoined to the divine.” Which words, as their editor has done well to set a *caute* upon in the margin to signify their danger, so this is clear from them, that Gelasius, and so the other writers that have made use of the same argument, as St. Chrysostom,† Theodoret, &c. must have thought the bread and the wine in the eucharist no more to have been really changed into the very body and blood of Christ, than they did believe his human nature to have been truly turned into the divine ; for that otherwise the parallel would have stood them in no stead, nay, would have afforded a defence of that heresy which they undertook to oppose by it.

VI. Yet more : Had the primitive Christians believed this great change, how comes it to pass that we find none of those marks nor signs of it, that the world has since abounded with ?‡ No talk of accidents existing without subjects, of the senses being liable to be deceived in judging of their proper objects ; in short, no philosophy corrupted to maintain this paradox. No adorations, processions, vows paid to it, as to Christ himself. It is but a very little time since the bell came in play,§

* See this fully handled in a late treatise, called, “ The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared,” &c. 1687.

† This argument is managed by St. Chrysostom, Epist. ad Cæsarium Monachum. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 895, &c.] By Theodoret, Dial. 2. p. 85. Ed. G. L. Paris. 1642. tom. 4. Gelasius in Operc contra Eutychen et Nestorium. He thus states the Eutychian heresy, “ Dicunt unam esse naturam, i. e. Divinam.” Against this he thus disputes, Certe Sacraenta quæ sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est.—Et tamen non desinit substantia vel natura Panis et Vini.—Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis de ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur.—Ut sicut in hanc, sc. in divinam transeant S. Spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ, sic, &c. [Max. Bibl. Vet. Patr. vol. 8. p. 703. col. 2. Lugd. 1677.]

‡ See the contrary proved, that the Fathers did not believe this, by Blondel, de l’Euch. c. 8. Claude Rep. au. 2. Traitte de la Perpetuite, part. 1. c. 4.

§ Under Greg. IX. Ann. 1240, vid. Nauclerum ad Ann. cit. [Chronograph. vol. 2. fol. ccxxi. p. 1. Tubing. 1616.]

to give the people notice that they should fall down and worship this new god. * The feast in honour of it, is an invention of yesterday ; the adoring of it in the streets† no older. Had not those first Christians respect sufficient for our blessed Saviour ? Or, did they perhaps do all this ? Let them shew it us if they can ; but till then, we must beg leave to conclude, that since we find not the least footsteps of any of these necessary appendages of this doctrine among the primitive Christians, it is not to be imagined that we should find the opinion neither.

VII. But this is not all : We do not only not find any such proofs as these of this doctrine, but we find other instances directly contrary to this belief. In some churches they‡ burnt what remained of the consecrated elements ; in others,§ they gave it to little children to eat : in some,|| they buried it with their dead ; in all, they permitted the communicants to carry home some remnants of them ; they sent it abroad by sea, by land, from one church and village to another, without any provision of bell or taper, canopy or incense, or any other mark of adoration ; they sometimes made poultices of the bread ;¶ they mixed the wine with their ink ;** all which we can never imagine such holy men would have presumed to do, had they indeed believed them to be the very body and blood of our blessed Lord.

VIII. Lastly : Since the prevalence of this doctrine in the Church, what opposition has it met with ? what schisms has it caused ? what infinite debates have there risen about it ? I shall not need to speak of the troubles of Berenger in the eleventh ; of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and others in the twelfth century. Of Wickliff, Huss, &c. who continued the opposition ; and finally, of the great Reformation in the beginning of the last age ; by all which, this heresy has been opposed ever since it came to any knowledge in the Church.

* Instituted by Urban IV. Ann. 1264.

† Indeed, in all probability, a hundred years later.

‡ So in that of Jerusalem. See Hesych. in Levitic. 1. 2. c. 8.

§ So in that of Constantinople. Evag. Hist. 1. 4. c. 35. [c. 36.] [p. 416.]

Cantabr. 1720.]

|| Vid. apud Autor. Vit. Basilii, c. 8. in Vit. Pat. 1. 1. This custom was condemned in a Council at Carthage, Anno 419. Vid. Codic. Eccl. Afric. Justel. c. 18. [p. 340. Lut. Par. 1661.]

¶ Vid. St. August. Oper. imp. contr. Julian. lib. 3. c. 164. [c. 162.] [vol. 10. p. 1802. Par. 1838.]

** See an instance of this in Baronius, Ann. 648. sect. 15. [vol. 11. p. 393. col. 2. Luc. 1742.] The 8th General Council did the same. In Act. Syn.

Now is it possible to be believed, that so many centuries should pass, so many heresies should arise, and a doctrine so full of contradictions remain uncontested in the Church for almost a thousand years? That Berenger should be one of the first that should begin to credit his senses, to consult his reason, or even to defend his creed?

These are improbabilities that will need very convincing arguments indeed to remove them. But for the little late French trick of proving this doctrine necessary to have been received in the Primitive Church,* because it is so in the present, and if you will believe them, it is impossible a change should have been made; I suppose, we need only turn the terms of the argument to shew the weakness of the proof, *viz.* that from all these, and many other observations that might be offered of the like kind, it is evident that this doctrine at the beginning was not believed in the Church; and let them from thence see, if they can conclude that neither is it believed now.

Thus contrary is this doctrine to the best and purest tradition of the Church: nor is it less, *secondly*,

II. *To right Reason too.*

It were needless to heap together all the contradictions that might be offered to prove this; “That there should be length, and nothing long; breadth, and nothing broad;† thickness, and nothing thick; whiteness, and nothing white; roundness, and nothing round; weight, and nothing heavy; sweetness, and nothing sweet; moisture, and nothing moist; fluidness, and nothing flowing; many actions and no agent; many passions, and no patient; *i. e.* that there should be a long, broad, thick, white, round, heavy, sweet, moist, flowing, active, passive **NOTHING**. That bread should be turned into the substance of Christ, and yet not anything of the bread become any thing of Christ; neither the matter, nor the form, nor the accidents of the bread, be made either the matter, or the form, or the accidents of Christ; that bread should be turned into nothing, and at the same time with the same action turned into Christ, and yet Christ should not be nothing; that the same thing, at the same time, should have its just dimensions, and just distance of its parts one from another, and at the same

* This is the foundation of the Authors of the Treatises, *De la Perpetuité*: answered by Monsieur Claude.

† See Mr. Chillingworth against Knot, c. 4: n. 46. [Works, p. 216. Lond. 1742.]

time not have it, but all its parts together in one and the self-same point ; that the same thing, at the same time, should be wholly above itself, and wholly below itself, within itself, and without itself, on the right hand, and on the left hand, and round about itself ; that the same thing, at the same time, should move to and from itself, and yet lie still ; or that it should be carried from one place to another through the middle space, and yet not move. That there should be no certainty in our senses, and yet that we should know something certainly, and yet know nothing but by our senses ; that that which is and was long ago, should now begin to be ; that that is now to be made of nothing, which is not nothing, but something ; that the same thing should be before and after itself. These and many other of the like nature are the unavoidable, and most of them the avowed consequences of transubstantiation, and I need not say all of them contradictions to right reason."

But I shall insist rather upon such instances as the primitive Fathers have judged to be absurd and impossible ; and which will at once shew both the falseness and novelty of this monstrous doctrine ; and such are these :* that a thing already existing should be produced anew ; that a finite thing should be in many places at the same time ; that a body should be in a place, and yet take up no room in it ; that a body should penetrate the dimensions of another body ; that a body should exist after the manner of a spirit ; that a real body should be invisible and impassible ; that the same thing should be itself, and the figure of itself ; that the same thing should be contained in, and partake of itself ;† that an accident should exist by itself without a subject, after the manner of a substance. All these things the primitive Fathers have declared to be, in their opinions, gross absurdities and contradictions, without making any exception of the Divine power for the sake of the eucharist, as some do now.

And indeed it were well if the impossibilities stopped here : but alas ! the repugnances extend to the very Creed itself, and destroy the chiefest articles of our faith, the fundamentals of Christianity. How can that man profess that he believes our

* See examples of every one of these collected by Blondel, *Eclaircissements familiers de la controverse de l'Eucharistie*, chap. 8. p. 253.

† Monsieur Claude Rep. au. 2. *Traite de la Perpetuite*, part. 1. c. 4. n. 11. p. 73. Ed. 4to. Paris, 1668.

Saviour Christ to have been born sixteen ages since, of the Virgin Mary, whose very body he sees the priest about to make now before his eyes? that he believes him to have ascended into heaven, and behold he is yet with us upon earth? there to sit at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, till in the end of the world, he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead? and behold he is here carried through the streets; locked up in a box; adored first, and then eaten by his own creatures; carried up and down in several manners, and to several places, and sometimes lost out of a priest's pocket.

These are no far-fetched considerations; they are the obvious consequences of this belief; and if these things are impossible, as doubtless, if there be any such thing as reason in the world, they are; I suppose it may be very much the concern of every one that professes this faith, to reflect a little upon them, and think what account must one day be given of their persisting obstinately in a point so evidently erroneous, that the least degree of an impartial judgment would presently have shewn them the falseness of it.

But God has not left himself without farther witness in this matter; but has given us, *thirdly*,

III. *The conviction of our Senses against it.*

An argument this, which since it cannot be answered, they seem resolved to run it down; as the Stoic in Lucian, who began to call names, when he had nothing else to say for himself.

But if the senses are such ill informers, that they may not be trusted in matters of this moment, would these disputers please to tell us, what authority they have for the truth of the Christian religion? Was not Christianity first founded upon the miracles of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles? Or were not the senses judges of those miracles? Are not the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, the most fundamental articles of our faith? Have we any other argument to warrant our belief of these, but what comes to us by the ministry of our senses?* Did not Christ himself appeal to them for the proof of his own rising?

* John xx. 27, 29.

The Romanist himself believes transubstantiation because he reads in the Scripture, or rather (to speak more agreeably to the method of their Church), because he has been told there are such words there, as *Hoc est Corpus meum* : now not to inquire how far those words will serve to warrant this doctrine, is it not evident that he cannot be sure that there are any such words there, if he may not trust his senses : and if he may, is it not as plain, that he must seek for some other meaning than what they give of them ?

Let us suppose the change they speak of to be supernatural ; be it as much a miracle as they desire : the very character of a miracle is to be known by the senses. Nor God, nor Christ, nor any prophet or apostle, ever pretended to any other. And I shall leave it to any one to judge what progress Christianity would have made in the world, if it had had no other miracles but such as transubstantiation to confirm it : *i. e.* great wonders confidently asserted, but such as every one's sense and reason would tell him were both falsely asserted, and impossible to be performed.

But now, whilst we thus oppose the errors of some, by asserting the continuance of the natural substance of the elements of bread and wine in this holy eucharist ; let not any one think that we would therefore set up the mistakes of others ; as if this holy sacrament were nothing more than a mere rite and ceremony, a bare commemoration only of Christ's death and passion.

Our Church indeed teaches us to believe, that the bread and wine continue still in their true and natural substance ; but it teaches us also that it is the body and blood of Christ,* which every faithful soul receives in that holy supper : spiritually indeed, and after a heavenly manner, but yet most truly and really too.

The primitive Fathers, of whom we have before spoken, sufficiently assure us that they were strangers to that corporeal change that is now pretended ; but for this divine and mystical, they have openly enough declared for it.

Nor are we therefore afraid to confess a change, and that a very great one too made in this holy sacrament. The bread and the wine which we here consecrate, ought not to be given or received by any one in this mystery, as common ordinary

* See the Church Catechism, and Article Twenty-eighth. The Communion Office, &c.

food. Those holy elements which the prayers of the Church have sanctified, and the divine words of our blessed Saviour applied to them, though not transubstantiated, yet certainly separated to a holy use and signification, ought to be regarded with a very just honour by us: and whilst we worship him whose death we herein commemorate, and of whose grace we expect to be made partakers by it, we ought certainly to pay no little regard to the types and figures, by which he has chosen to represent the one, and convey to us the other.

Thus therefore we think we shall best divide our piety, if we adore our Redeemer in heaven, yet omit nothing that may testify our just esteem of his holy sacrament on earth: nor suffer the most zealous votary for this new opinion to exceed us in our care and reverence of approaching to his holy table.

We acknowledge him to be no less really present, though after another manner than they; nor do we less expect to communicate of his body and blood with our souls, than they who think they take him carnally into their mouths.

Let our office of Communion be examined; let the reverence and devotion with which we celebrate this sacred feast, be considered; all these will shew how far the Church of England is from a light esteem of this great mystery; indeed, that it is impossible for any to set a higher value and reverence upon it.

I shall close this with the declaration of one, who after many years spent in great reputation in their communion, was so happy as to finish his days in our Church, upon his first receiving the blessed communion among us: * *Tantam magnum præsulum demissionem, tam eximiam principum et populi reverentiam, in sacra eucharistia administranda et recipienda, nusquam ego vidi apud Romanenses, qui tamen se unos sacramenti istius cultores jactant: “That he never saw in the Church of Rome, so great a reverence both in administering and receiving this holy eucharist, as he found among us; insomuch that he supposed it would hardly be believed among them, what from his own experience he recounted concerning it.”*

Porro hæc quæ narravi et trita nimis ac vulgo nota videbuntur† fratribus nostris Reformatæ Ecclesiæ: nova omnino et forte incredibilia apparebunt Romanæ Congregationis

* Andr. Salli Votum pro Pace, c. 23. p. 90. Ed. Oxon. 1678.

† Vid. ibid. p. 90. cap. 24. n. 7.

Alumnis; quorum scilicet auribus perpetuo suggeritur per suos instructores, nullam apud Protestantes existere fidem præsentie Christi realis in Eucharistæ Sacramento, nulla mdeventionem aut reverentiam in eo sumendo.

And this may suffice for the first thing proposed; of the doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the real presence professed and established in the Church of Rome. Our next business will be to inquire :

II. What that real presence of Christ in this holy eucharist is, which is acknowledged by the Church of England.

CHAP. II.

Of the Real Presence acknowledged by the Church of England.

IT may sufficiently appear from what has been said in the foregoing chapter, what just reason we have to reject that kind of presence which the Church of Rome supposes of Christ in this holy eucharist. But now in answer to our reflections upon them on this occasion,* a late author has thought fit to make the world believe, that we ourselves, in our opinion of the real presence, are altogether as absurd as they are; and that the same exceptions lie against our own Church, which we urge against theirs: all which, if it were true, would but little mend the matter, unless it may be thought sufficient for a man to prove, that he is not mad himself, because most of his neighbours are in the same condition. Indeed herein he must be allowed to have reason on his side, that if the case be so as he affirms, we, of all men living, ought not to press them with such contradictions,† as our own opinion stands equally involved in.

It is true, he confesses for what concerns the Church of England, as it stood in the latter‡ end of King Edward VIth's time, and as it may perhaps be thought to stand now, since the§ reviving of the old Rubric against the adoration of the sacrament at the end of our Communion Office; it seems

* Two Discourses concerning the Adoration of our blessed Saviour in the Eucharist. Oxford, 1687.

† Tract. 1. p. 15, 16. ‡ Tract. 1. sect. 26. § Ibid. sect. 4.

not to lie open to such a recrimination : but taking our opinion of the real presence from the expressions of our own divines, and of those abroad, such as Calvin, &c. whose “ doctrine, amongst all the rest, the Church of England seems rather to have embraced and agreed with, especially since the beginning of the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth ;” it plainly implies, “ that the very substance of Christ’s body ; that his natural body, that very body that was born of the blessed Virgin, and crucified on the cross is present as in heaven, so here in this holy sacrament, either to the worthy receiver, or to the symbols :” which not only contradicts the present declaration of our Church ; *viz.* “ that the natural body of Christ is not in this blessed sacrament ;” but will also lay a necessity upon us to quit our reason too that we give for it, *viz.* “ that it is against the truth of a natural body to be in more places than one at one time ;” and on which we seem to found our faith in this matter.

This is, I think, the design of the former of those discourses lately printed at Oxford, as to what concerns the real presence ; and in answer to which, that I may proceed as distinctly as possible, I shall reduce my reflections to these four generals :

1. What is the true notion of the real presence, as acknowledged by the Church of England.

2. That this has been the notion constantly maintained by the generality of our divines.

3. That the alteration of the Rubric, as to this matter, was not upon any such difference in their opinions, as this author seems to surmise.

4. That the reason alleged by it, concerning the impossibility of Christ’s natural body existing in several places at the same time, is no way invalidated by any of his exceptions against it.

But before I enter on these reflections, I cannot but observe the unreasonableness of our adversaries, in repeating continually the same arguments against us, without either adding of any the least new force to them, or even taking notice of those replies that have more than once been made against them. The publisher of this treatise has not been so indiligent an observer of what has past under his eyes, with reference to these kind of controversies, as not to know that this very objection, which is the foundation of his first discourse, was made by his old friend T. G. above nine years since ; and fully answered by his reverend and learned adversary not long after.

And therefore that he certainly ought either quietly to have let alone this argument already baffled, and not have put the world in mind where that debate stopped ; or, at least, he should have added some new strength to it. But to send it again into the world in the same forlorn state it was before ; to take no notice either from whose storehouse he borrowed it, or what had been returned to it ; this is in effect to confess, that they have no more to say for themselves : and it is a sad cause indeed that has nothing to keep it up, but what they know very well we can answer, and that they themselves are unable to defend.

But to return to the points proposed to be considered : and,

First, To state the notion of the real presence, as acknowledged by the Church of England.

I must observe, first, That our Church utterly denies our Saviour's body to be so really present in the blessed sacrament, as either to leave heaven, or to exist in several places at the same time. We confess, with this author,* that it would be no less a contradiction for Christ's natural body to be in several places at the same time by any other mode whatsoever, than by that which the Church of Rome has stated ; the repugnancy being in the thing itself, and not in the manner of it. Secondly, That we deny that in the sacred elements which we receive, there is any other substance than that of bread and wine, distributed to the communicants ; which alone they take into their mouths, and press with their teeth. In short,† “ All which the doctrine of our Church implies by this phrase, is only a real presence of Christ's invisible power and grace, so in and with the elements, as by the faithful receiving of them, to convey spiritual and real effects to the souls of men. As the bodies assumed by angels might be called their bodies, while they assumed them ; or rather, as the Church is the body of Christ, because of his Spirit quickening and enlivening the souls of believers ; so the bread and wine, after consecration, are the real, but the spiritual and mystical body of Christ.”

Thus has that learned man, to whom T. G. first made this objection, stated the notion of the real presence professed by us ; and that this is indeed the true doctrine of the Church of England in this matter, is evident not only from the plain words of our twenty-eighth Article, and of our Church Cate-

* Tract. 1. p. 19. sect. 27.

† Answer to T. G.'s Dialogues. Lond. 1679. p. 66.

chism ; but also from the whole tenor of that office which we use in the celebration of it. In our exhortation to it, this blessed eucharist is expressly called, “ The communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ :” we are told, “ That if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive this holy sacrament ; then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood.” When the priest delivers the consecrated bread he bids the communicant, “ Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving ” In our prayer after the receiving, “ We thank God for that he doth vouchsafe to feed us who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of his Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and doth assure us thereby of his favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members, incorporate in the mystical body of his Son.” All which, and many other the like expressions, clearly shew that the real presence which we confess in this holy eucharist, is no other than in St. Paul’s phrase, a real communion of Christ’s body and blood ; or as our Church expresses it, Article xxviii, “ That to such as rightly and worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.”

Hence it was that in the prayer of consecration in King Edward VIth’s time, the Church of England, after the example of the ancient liturgies of the Greek Church, used that form, which our author observes to have been since left out.* “ And with thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ”—*i. e.* as the sense plainly implies, may communicate to our souls all the blessings and graces which Christ’s body and blood has purchased for us ; which is in effect the very same we now pray for in the same address : “ Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.” Between which two petitions there is so near an affinity, that had not our author been very desirous to find out mysteries where there

* Tract. 1, 2.

are indeed none, he would hardly have suffered his Puritan friend* to have led him to make so heavy a complaint about so small a variation.

I will not deny but that some men may possibly have advanced their private notions beyond what is here said: but this is, I am sure, all that our Church warrants, or that we are therefore concerned to defend. And if there be indeed any, who, as our author here expresses it, do believe Christ's natural body to be, as in heaven, so in the holy sacrament; they may please to consider how this can be reconciled with the Rubric of our Church, "That the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body, to be at one time in more places than one."

In the mean time I pass on to the next thing I proposed:

Secondly, To shew, in opposition to the pretences of our adversary, that this has been the notion of the real presence constantly maintained by our most learned and orthodox divines.

And here, because our author has thought fit to appeal, not only to our own, but to the foreign divines for this new faith which he is pleased to impose upon us,† *viz.* "That the very substance of Christ's body, that his natural body, that that very body that was born of the blessed Virgin, and crucified on the cross, &c. is present, as in heaven, so here in this holy sacrament, *i. e.* in both at the same time:" I must be content to follow his steps, and inquire into the doctrine first of Mr. Calvin and his followers; next of our own countrymen in this particular.

And first for Mr. Calvin and his followers, I cannot but observe what different charges are brought against them in this matter. On the one hand we are told by Becanus, the Jesuit, that,‡ "The Calvinists," says he, "deny the body and blood of Christ to be truly, really, and substantially present in the eucharist:" on the other, here is one will prove, that they believe his very body, his natural body, now in heaven, to be nevertheless at the same time in the holy sacrament. It were to be wished that they would let us once know what it is they will stick to, and not by such contradictory charges

* Pag. 3.

† Tract. 1. sect. 7.

‡ Calvinistæ negant corpus et sanguinem Christi, vere, realiter, et substantialiter præsentem esse in Eucharistia. Becani Manuale, l. 3. c. 9. p. 501. Ed. Luxemburgi, 1625.

shew to all the world, that both their accusations may be false, but that it is utterly impossible they should both be true.

And indeed in this very instance they are both false ; the Calvinists* hold neither the one or other of these extremes. In the edition of his Institutions printed at Basil, 1536, Mr. Calvin thus delivers his opinion of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist : “ We say,† that they are truly and efficaciously exhibited to us, but not naturally : by which we signify, not that the very substance of his body, or that the true and natural body of Christ are given there, but all the benefits which Christ did for us in his body. THIS is that PRESENCE of his body, which the nature of the sacrament requires.”

But because I do not find these words in the editions of that book since, lest any one should thereupon conclude that he had also changed his opinion ; we may observe the very same delivered by him in another of his books,‡ and which will be so much the more considerable, in that it was written purposely for the clearing of this matter. Now in this he affirms,§ “ That Christ’s body was not only once given for our salvation, but is also every day reached out to us for our sustenance, that so, whilst he dwells in us, we may also enjoy the fellowship of all his goods.”—Then he explains how Christ is our food, *viz.*|| because “ by the incomprehensible virtue of

* CALVIN.

† Dicimus vere et efficaciter exhiberi, non autem naturaliter. Quo scil. significamus non substantiam ipsam corporis, seu verum et naturale Christi corpus illuc dari, sed omnia quae in suo corpore nobis beneficia Christus praestitit. EA est corporis PRÆSENTIA quam Sacramenti ratio postulat. Edit. Basil. 8vo. 1536.

‡ Dilucida explicatio, &c. Contra Westphalum. Edit. Anno 1561.

§ Christi corpus non modo semel fuisse datum in salutem nostram, dum ad expianda peccata immolatum in cruce fuit, sed quotidie nobis in alimentum porrigi, ut dum ipse habitat in nobis, bonorum etiam ejus omnium societate fruamur.—Apud Hospin. Hist. Sacram. Parte 2da, Ann. 1561. p. 477. [Genev. 1681.]

|| Rursus alimentum a nobis vocatur hoc sensu, quia incomprehensibili spiritus Virtute nobis vitam suam inspirat, ut sit nobis communis, non secus atque a radice arboris vitalis succus in ramos se diffundit, vel à capite in singula membra manat Vigor. Ibid.—In primis obstaculum de corporis immensitate submovere necesse est. Nisi enim constet finitum esse coeloque comprehendendi, nulla erit dissidii conciliandi Ratio—[Ibid.] p. 478. Christus sicuti in gloriam cœlestem semel est receptus, ita locorum intervallo quoad carnem, est a nobis dissitus ; Divina autem essentia et virtute, gratia etiam spirituali cœlum et terram implere.—Idem ergo corpus

the Holy Spirit, he inspires his life into us, that he may communicate it to us, no less than the vital juice is diffused from the root into all the branches of the tree, or than vigour flows from the head into all the members.”—He declares Christ’s body to be finite, and enclosed in heaven; and therefore as to his flesh to be distant in place from us.—“That it is not necessary that the essence of his flesh should descend from heaven, that we may be fed with it; but that to remove all such impediments, and overcome the distance of places, the virtue of the Spirit is sufficient.”—In short, “that all inventions contrary to this are to be rejected, such as, the ubiquity of Christ’s body, the inclosing of it under the symbol of bread, and his substantial presence upon earth.”

By all which it sufficiently appears, that Mr. Calvin was no friend to our author’s fancy; but evidently explained the real presence after that spiritual manner we have before laid down.

For Beza,* and the rest, as he calls them, of the same sect; we cannot better learn their opinion than from the Acts of the Colloquy of Poissy, and which chieflay upon this point. At this conference the most eminent men of the Calvinian party were assembled; the first of them which spoke, was Beza in that part of his discourse which referred to the holy eucharist, his words were much like those which our author has quoted out of him. And by his own exposition of them, we shall be better able to judge of his meaning, than by his adversaries’ gloss: †“We do not say that in the eucharist

quod semel filius Dei Patri in sacrificium obtulit, quotidie nobis in Cœna offert, ut sit in Spirituale alimentum. Tantum de modo tenendum est, non opus esse descendere carnis essentiam è celo ut ea pascamur, sed ad penetranda impedimenta et superandam locorum distantiam sufficere Spiritus virtutem.—Commenta procul facessant; qualia sunt de corporis ubiquitate, vel de occulta sub panis symbolo inclusione, vel de substanciali ejus in terris præsentia. Hospin. p. 478. Hæc omnia refert ex illo Calvini loco.

* BEZA.

† See Hospin. Hist. Sacram. part. 2. ad Ann. 1561. p. 515. Edit. Genev. 1681. Comment. de Statu Relig. et Reipub. in Gallia ad Ann. 1561. p. 112. Et postea, pag. 138, ita se exprimit in eundem plane sensum, “Affirmamus J. C. adesse in usu Cœnæ, in qua nobis offert, dat et verè exhibit corpus suum et sanguinem suum operatione Spiritus Sancti; nos vero recipimus, edimus et bibimus spiritualiter et per fidem illud ipsum corpus quod pro nobis mortuum est, eumque illum sanguinem pro nobis effusum. Edit. Ann. 1577. 8vo. Bezae Hist. Eccles. [vol. 1.] p. 595, 596. [Anvers. 1580.] —For all this see Beza’s own History, ad Ann. 1561, [Ibid.] p. 524. And when in the Conference, D’Espense pressed them with departing from Calvin; Beza declared, that they were not at all contrary to

there is only a commemoration of the death of our Lord Jesus Christ; nor do we say, that in it we are made partakers only of the fruits of his death and passion; but we join the ground with the fruits, affirming with St. Paul, that the bread which by God's appointment we break, is the participation of the body of Christ crucified for us; the cup which we drink, the communion of the true blood that was shed for us; and that in the very same substance which he received in the womb of the Virgin, and which he carried up with him into the heavens."—Then descending to the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation: "It overthrows," says he, "the truth of Christ's human nature, and of his ascension."—So little did he suppose that Christ's natural body could be at the same time both in heaven and in the sacrament. Hereupon he explains himself yet further: "But now if any one should ask of us, whether we make Christ absent from the holy supper? We answer, by no means. But yet if we respect the distance of place (as when we speak of his corporeal presence, and of his humanity, we must), we affirm," says he, "that Christ's body is as far distant from the bread and wine, as heaven is from earth. If any one shall from thence conclude, that we make Christ absent from the holy supper, he will conclude amiss: for this honour we allow to God, that though the body of Jesus Christ be now in heaven and not elsewhere, and we on earth and not elsewhere, yet are we made partakers of his body and blood after a spiritual manner, and by the means of faith."

Thus does Beza in like manner expound their doctrine of the real presence, by a real communion of Christ's body and blood, and flatly condemns our author's invention,* of his natural body's being either in the symbols, or any where else upon earth. The same is the account which Peter Martyr†

him: that for the word "substance," which he sometimes used in expressing Christ's real presence, it was only to signify, that they did not feign any imaginary body of Christ, or fantastic reception or communion of his body in this holy supper; but that for the rest, they all believed, that no one could participate of him otherwise than spiritually and by faith, not in taking him into the mouth, or eating him with the teeth. See p. 599, *ibid.*

* Respondeo pro mea parte, *Corpus Christi non esse vere et substancialiter alibi quam in celo.* Non tamen inficior Christi corpus verum, et sanguinem illius verum, quæ pro salute humana tradita sunt in cruce, fide spiritualiter percipi [a fidelibus] in sacra cœna. *Histoire Eccles.* de Beze, liv. 4. [*Ibid.*] p. 606. Anno 1561.

† Peter Martyr.

in the same conference gave of it ; and of whom Espenæus,* one of the Popish delegates, confessed “that no divine of that time had spoken so clearly and distinctly concerning this sacrament, as he did.” And however Genebrard† falsely pretends that the other Protestants dissented from him, yet it is certain they were so far from it, that they all subscribed the very same paper out of which he read his declaration. But I will close this with the same words with which these Protestants did their final resolution in the Colloquy as to this matter : “ We affirm‡ that no distance of place can hinder the communion which we have with Christ’s body and blood ; because the supper of the Lord is a heavenly thing, and though upon earth we receive with our mouths bread and wine, *viz.* the true symbols of his body and blood ; yet by faith, and through the operation of the Holy Spirit, our souls (of which this is the chief food) being carried up into heaven, enjoy the body and blood present. And in this respect, we say that the body does truly join itself to the bread, and the blood to the wine, but yet no otherwise than sacramentally, neither after a local or natural manner. But because they do effectually signify that God gives them to the faithful communicants, and that they do by faith truly and certainly receive them.”

And thus far I have considered the foreign divines produced by our author, and in which we find the very same explication which our Church gives of the real presence. For our own

* Vid. Hist. de Beze, ib. p. 599. Comment. de Stat. Rel. p. 140. ad Ann. 1561. Hospin. [ut supra,] p. 518.

† See Hospin. of this whole matter, [ibid.] p. 520.

‡ Affirmamus nullam locorum distantiam impedire posse communicationem quam habemus cum Christi corpore et sanguine, quoniam Cœna Domini est res cœlestis ; et quamvis in terra recipiamus ore panem et vinum, vera scil. Corporis et sanguinis signa ; tamen fide et spiritus sancti operatione mentes nostræ (quarum hic est præcipue cibus) in cœlum elatae perfruuntur corpore et sanguine præsente. Et hoc respectu dicimus, Corpus vere se pani conjungere, et sanguinem vino ; non aliter tamen quam sacramentali ratione, neque locali neque naturali modo, sed quoniam efficaciter significant Deum illa dare fideliter communicantibus, illosque fide vere et certo percipere. Hospin. l. c. Comm. ibid. p. 142. Ubi subjicitur “ Hæc est perspicua de corporis et sanguinis J. C. præsentia in Sacramento Cœnæ Ecclesiarum Reformatarum sententia”—Beze Hist. Eccles. [ut supra,] p. 615 ; where he adds, that they reject not only Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, but also “ toute maniere de presence par laquelle le corps de Christ n’est colloque maintenant reellement ailleurs qu’au ciel.” And then adds, why they thus use the word Substance in this matter, and what they mean by it. See p. 615, ad Ann. 1561.

authors, I shall insist the rather upon them, both to take off any impression which the scraps here put together by those whose business it is to represent their own sense, not their author's, might otherwise be apt to make upon some men ; and also to shew the exact concord there has been ever since the Reformation amongst us as to this matter.

Now for what concerns our divines in King Edward VIth's time, we have our author's own confession, that towards the latter end of the reign of that excellent prince, they seem to have denied any such real and essential presence as he would fasten upon those of Queen Elizabeth's after : " For as the first days of this prince," says he,* " seem to have been more addicted to Lutheranism, so the latter days to Zwinglianism ; as appears in several expressions of Bishop Ridley and Peter Martyr." And indeed the Articles agreed upon in the Convocation at London, 1562, plainly shew it ; in the xxixth of which we find this express clause : " Since the very being of human nature doth require that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place ; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since, as the holy Scriptures testify, Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world, it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporeal presence, as they phrase it, of the body and blood of Christ in the holy eucharist." I shall therefore produce only a witness or two of this King's reign ; and so pass on to those that follow.

And 1st. Archbishop Cranmer,† in his answer to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, objecting to him, that he denied the presence of Christ in this holy eucharist, replies, that it was "a thing he never said nor thought.—My book in divers places saith clean contrary,‡ that Christ is with us spiritually present ; is eaten and drunken of us, and dwelleth within us, although corporeally he be departed out of this world, and gone into heaven, p. 5.—As he giveth bread to be eaten with our mouths, so giveth he his very body to be eaten with our faith. And therefore I say, that Christ giveth himself truly to be eaten, chawed, and digested : but all is spiritually with

* 1 Treatise, sect. 26. p. 19,

† Cranmer.

‡ Answer to Gardiner, bishop of Worcester, fol. London, 1551.

faith, not with mouth, p. 9.—As the washing outwardly in water is not a vain token, but teacheth such a washing as God worketh inwardly in them that duly receive the same; so likewise is not the bread a vain token, but sheweth and preacheth to the godly receiver, what God worketh in him by his almighty power secretly and invisibly. And therefore as the bread is outwardly eaten indeed in the Lord's supper, so is the very body of Christ inwardly by faith eaten indeed of all them that come thereto in such sort as they ought to do; which eating nourisheth them unto everlasting life.” And in his treatise of the Holy Sacrament,* lib. 3, where he sets himself particularly to state this very question, how Christ is present in this holy sacrament, he declares, cap. 2, “that whereas the Papists suppose Christ to be under the species of bread and wine; we believe him to be in those who worthily receive these holy elements. They think him to be received by the mouth, and to enter with the bread and wine; we assert, that he is received only by the soul, and enters there by faith. That Christ is present only sacramentally and spiritually in this sacred mystery, p. 116. That since his ascension into heaven, he is there, and not on earth, p. 118; and that he cannot be in both together, 128.”—In short, he gives us this rule for interpreting the expressions of the Fathers, where it is said, that we “eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ;” “that we receive in the holy sacrament, the very body that hung on the cross, &c. cap. 14, p. 180: These,” says he, “and other expressions of the like kind (which speak Christ to be upon earth, and to be received of Christians by eating or drinking), are either to be understood of his divine nature (which is every where), or else must be taken figuratively or spiritually. For he is figuratively only in the bread and wine; and spiritually in those that receive this bread and wine worthily. But truly, and as to his body and flesh, he is in heaven only; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”

Thus did this learned and holy martyr understand our doctrine of the real presence; and the same was the idea which his companion both in doctrine and suffering, Bishop Ridley,† has left us of it.‡ In his discourse of the Lord's supper,

* *Assertio veræ et Catholicæ Doctrinæ de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis J. Christi Servatoris nostri.* Lichæ, 8vo. 1601.

† Bishop Ridley.

‡ *Ridlei de Cœna Dominica Assertio;* Genevæ apud Jo. Crispinum, 1556.

p. 33, he tells us, "that the substance of the bread continues as the matter of this sacrament; but so, that by reason of its change, as to use, office, and dignity, it is turned sacramentally into the body of Christ; as in baptism, the water is turned into the laver of regeneration.—That the human nature of Christ is in heaven, and cannot in any manner lie hid under the form of bread," p. 34.—Then he inquires, "whether therefore we take away the presence of Christ's body from the sacrament?" p. 35. And utterly denies, that this is either said or thought by him: "The substance of the true body and blood of Christ," says he, "is always in heaven, nor shall it depart thence before the end of the world. Now this substance of his body and blood being conjoined to his Divine nature, has not only life in itself, but can, and is wont to bestow it upon all those who partake of it, and believe in his name.—Nor is it any hindrance to this, that Christ still remains in heaven, and that we are upon earth. For by grace, that is, life (as St. John interprets it, c. 6), and the properties of it, as far as may be profitable to us in this our pilgrimage here below, he is with us to the end of the world. As the sun, who, though he never leaves his orb, yet by his light, heat, and influence, is present to us:" p. 36, 37.

Hitherto then there can be no doubt, but that both the Church and the divines knew no other real presence than what has been before acknowledged to be still our doctrine. We must now go on to the times of trial, the days of Queen Elizabeth, and her successors, when our author supposes,* "that men of different judgments had the power." Now for proof of this, besides the expressions of particular men, which we shall presently consider, we have two general presumptions offered to us; one, "that Dr. Heylin and others have observed," he says, "of this Queen, that she was a zealous propugner of the real presence," which may be very true, and yet but little to the purpose, if she propugned it in the same sense that her brother King Edward the VIth and the Church of England had done before, and not in the new notion imposed upon her by this author, but without any manner of proof to warrant his suggestion. The other, "that upon the review made by her divines of the Common Prayer and Articles,† they struck out of the one, the Rubric against the adoration of the sacrament;

* I. Tract. sect. iv. p. 4.

† I. Treatise, p. 2. sect. i., and again, p. 22. sect. xxxi.

and the passage before mentioned (being of the same temper as the declaration in the Liturgy) out of the 29th Article ; and which has accordingly been omitted ever since.”

And here I cannot but again take notice of the disingenuousness of this author, in dissembling the true account that has so largely been given by our late accurate compiler of the History of our Reformation, of this whole matter, only for the advancing so pitiful an insinuation of what I dare appeal to his own conscience whether he did not know it to be otherwise. I will beg leave to transcribe the whole passage ; and shall then leave it to the indifferent reader to judge whether a man so well acquainted with books, and so interested in this matter, could have lived so long in the world without hearing of so eminent a matter in our Church History as this.

The author * is treating about the difference between the Articles established in King Edward VIth's time, and those in Queen Elizabeth's.

“ In the Article of the Lord's Supper there is a great deal left out ; for instead of that large refutation of the corporeal presence, from the impossibility of a body's being in more places at once ; from whence it follows, that since Christ's body is in heaven, the faithful ought not to believe or profess a real or corporeal presence of it in the sacrament : in the new Article it is said, ‘that the body of Christ is given and received after a spiritual manner ; and the means by which it is received, is faith.’ But in the original copy of these Articles,† which I have seen subscribed by the hands of all that sat in either house of Convocation, there is a further addition made. The Articles were subscribed with that precaution which was requisite in a matter of such consequence : for before the subscriptions, there is set down the number of the pages, and of the lines in every page of the book to which they set their hands.”

In that Article of the Eucharist these words are added :‡ “ Christ, when he ascended into heaven, made his body immortal, but took not from it the nature of a body : for still it retains, according to the Scriptures, the verity of a human body ; which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once. Since then Christ being carried up to heaven, is to remain there to the end of the world, and is to come from thence, and from no place else (as

* Dr. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. 2. p. 405. Ann. 1559. Edit. 2. 1683. † MSS. C. Cor. Christ. Cant.

‡ An Explanation of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament.

says St. Austin), to judge the quick and the dead: none of the faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it) the corporeal presence of his flesh and blood in the eucharist.

“But this, in the original, is dashed over with minium; yet so, that it is still legible. The secret of it was this: the Queen and her Council studied (as hath been already shewn) to unite all into the communion of the Church; and it was alleged, that such an express definition against a real presence, might drive from the Church many who were still of that persuasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith. To say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion division. Upon this, these words were by common consent left out. And in the next Convocation, the Articles were subscribed without them; of which, I have also seen the original.

“This shews, that the doctrine of the Church subscribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a real or corporeal presence in the sacrament; only it was not thought necessary, or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their opinion, but the wisdom of that time, in leaving a liberty for different speculations, as to the manner of the presence; some have since inferred, that the chief pastors of this Church did then disapprove of the definition made in King Edward’s time, and that they were for a real presence.”

Thus that learned historian. And here let our adversary consider what he thinks of this account; and whether, after so evident a confutation from plain matter of fact of his objection before it appeared, we may not reasonably complain both of his weakness and insincerity; neither to take any notice of such a plain history of this whole transaction, or to imagine that so vain a surmise of Queen Elizabeth’s being a great propugner of the real presence, would be sufficient to obviate so clear and particular an account of this matter.

But though this might suffice to shew the continuance of the same doctrine of the real presence in this Queen’s, that was before professed in her brother’s reign; yet it may not be amiss to discover a little further the truth of this matter, and how falsely this author has alleged those great names he has produced. I will therefore beg leave to continue my proof, with an induction of the most eminent of our divines that I have at this time the opportunity to consult, to our own days.

And first for Bishop Jewel : though the part he had in the Convocation before mentioned, may sufficiently assure us of his opinion, yet it may not be improper to repeat the very words of a person of his learning and eminence in our Church. In his reply to Harding, thus he expresses the doctrine of the Church of England as to the real presence :* “Whereas Mr. Harding thus unjustly reporteth of us, that we maintain a naked figure, and a bare sign or token only, and nothing else. He knoweth well, we feed not the people of God with bare signs and figures, but teach them, that the sacraments of Christ be holy mysteries ; and that in the ministration thereof, Christ is set before us, even as he was crucified upon the cross. We teach the people, not that a naked sign or token, but that Christ’s body and blood indeed and verily is given unto us ; that we verily eat it, that we verily drink it ; that we verily be relieved and live by it : that we are bones of his bones, and flesh of his flesh ; that Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him :—yet we say not, either that the substance of the bread and wine is done away, or that Christ’s body is let down from heaven, or made really or fleshly present in the sacrament. We are taught, according to the doctrine of the old Fathers, to lift up our hearts to heaven, and there to feed upon the Lamb of God.—Thus spiritually, and with the mouth of our faith, we eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood ; even as verily as his body was verily broken, and his blood verily shed upon the cross.—Indeed the bread that we receive with our bodily mouths, is an earthly thing ; and therefore a figure ; as the water in baptism is likewise also a figure. But the body of Christ, that thereby is represented, and there is offered unto our faith, is the thing itself, and not figure. To conclude, three things herein we must consider : 1. That we put a difference between the sign and the thing itself that is signified : 2. That we seek Christ above in heaven, and imagine not him to be present bodily upon the earth : 3. That the body of Christ is to be eaten by faith only, and none otherwise.”

I shall not trouble the reader with any more of our divines who lived in the beginning of this Queen’s reign, and subscribed the Article before recited ; but pass on directly to him whom

* Fifth Article of the Real Presence against Harding, p. 237, Lond. 1611. See also his Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, p. 219, &c.

our author first mentions, the venerable Mr. Hooker,* and whose judgment having been so deservedly esteemed by all sorts of men, ought not to be lightly accounted of by us.

And here I must observe, that this learned person is drawn in only by a consequence, and that no very clear one neither, to favour his opinion. The truth is, he has dealt with Mr. Hooker just as himself,† or one of his friends has been observed to have done on the like occasion with the incomparable Chillingworth; has picked up a passage or two that seemed for his purpose; but dissembled whole pages in the same place that were evidently against him. For thus Mr. Hooker in the chapter cited by him, interprets the words of institution: "If we doubt," says he, "what those admirable words may import, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himself a Schoolmaster. Let our Lord's Apostle be his interpreter; content we ourselves with his explication: 'My body, the communion of my body; my blood, the communion of my blood.' Is there any thing more expedite, clear and easy, than that as Christ is termed our life, because through him we obtain life, so the parts of this sacrament are his body and blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the participation of his body and blood ensueth?—The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is therefore not to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament."—And again, p. 310, he thus interprets the same words: "This hallowed food, through the concurrence of Divine power, is in verity and truth unto faithful receivers instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need. This is to them, and in them, my body."

And this may suffice in vindication of Mr. Hooker. Those who desire a fuller account, may find several pages to the same purpose in the chapter which I have quoted. The next our author mentions, is the learned Bishop Andrews,‡ in that much noted passage, as he calls it, in the answer to Bellarmine.

And indeed we need desire no other passage to judge of his

* Mr. Hooker, Tr. I. cap. 2, sect. 10. p. 6.

† Difference between the Protestant and Socinian Methods, in Answer to the Protestant Plea for a Socinian, p. 54.

‡ Bishop Andrews. 1 Tract. p. 7, sect. 11. n. 1.

opinion in this matter ; in which, 1. He utterly excludes all defining any thing as to the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. 2. He professes that a presence we believe, and that no less a true one than the Papists. 3. He plainly insinuates that the presence of Christ in the eucharist, was much the same as in baptism ; the very allusion which the holy Fathers* were wont to make, to express his presence by, in this holy sacrament ; which since our adversaries can neither deny, nor yet say is so real as to be essential or corporeal ; they must of necessity allow that there may be a true presence (which is all the Bishop affirms), without such a substantial one as this author here contends for.

But to shew that whatever this bishop understood by the real presence, it could not be that Christ's glorified body is now actually present in this sacred mystery, will appear demonstratively from this, that he declares it is not this body which we either represent or partake of there ; insomuch that he doubts not to say, that could there be a transubstantiation, such as the Church of Rome supposes, it would not serve our turn, nor answer the design of this sacrament. It is in his sermon on 1 Cor. v. 7, 8 :† "We will mark," saith he, "something more : that *epulemur* doth here refer to *immolatus* : to Christ not every way considered, but as when he was offered. Christ's body that now is, true ; but not Christ's body as now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us. Not as now he is glorified ; for so he is not, he cannot be *immolatus* ; for as he is, he is immortal and impassible ; but as then he was when he suffered death, that is passible and mortal. Then in his passible state, he did institute this of ours, to be a memorial of his passible and passion both. And we are in this action not only carried up to Christ (*sursum corda*) (so that Christ, it seems, is not brought down to us), but we are also carried back to Christ, as he was at the very instant, and in the very act of his offering. So, and no otherwise, doth this text teach ; so, and no otherwise do we represent him. By the incomprehensible power

* *Habemus Christum præsentem ad Baptismatis Sacramentum, habemus eum presentem ad Altaris Cibum et Potum.* Augustin. *Stola, quæ est Ecclesia Christi, lavatur in ipsis sanguine vivo, i. e. in lavacro regenerationis.* Origen. *Statim baptizatus in sanguine agni Vir meruit appellari.* Hieron. *Christi sanguine lavaris, quando in ejus mortem baptizaris.* Leo P. &c.

† See Sermon 7, on the Resurrect. p. 454. Serm. Lond. 1641.

of his Eternal Spirit, not he alone, but he as at the very act of his offering is made present to us, and we incorporate into his death, and invested in the benefits of it. If an host could be turned into him now glorified as he is, it would not serve ; Christ offered is it. Thither must we look ; to the serpent lift up : thither we must repair ; even *ad cadaver* : we must *hoc facere*, do that is then done. So, and no otherwise is this *epulari* to be conceived. And so I think none will say they do or can turn him."

Whatsoever real presence then this bishop believed, it must be of his crucified body, and as in the state of his death ; and that I think cannot be otherwise present than in one of those two ways mentioned above by Archbishop Cranmer, and both of which we willingly acknowledge ; either figuratively in the elements ; or spiritually in the souls of those who worthily receive them.

And from this account of Bishop Andrews' opinion, we may conclude what it was that Casaubon* and King James understood by the real presence, who insist upon that bishop's words to express their own notion and meaning of it. Nor can we make any other judgment of the Archbishop of Spalato ; who in the next† to that cited by our adversary‡ is very earnest against those who receive unworthily this holy sacrament, and by consequence ties not Christ's natural body to the bread ; and declares it to be after a spiritual imperceptible and miraculous manner. As for the term *corporaliter*, which he there uses, and which Melanethon and some others had used before him, that may be well enough understood in the same sense, as *vere* or *realiter* ; and is often so used both in Scripture and in the holy Fathers. As when St. Paul says of Christ, that in "him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily ;"§ that is really in opposition to the *Shechinah*, or presence of God in the tabernacle. And again, "the body of Christ ;" that is the substance, the reality, opposed unto the types and figures of the law.|| And so in the Hebrew exposition □שׁע is often used for essence as well as body, and applied to spiritual as well as corporeal things.

Nor can I see any more reason to understand Archbishop

* Casaubon, King James, Archbishop of Spalato.

† See the 1. Tra. sect. 11. note 2. p. 7.

‡ Vol. 3. de Rep. Eccles. lib. 7. cap. 11. p. 200, 201.

§ Coloss. ii. 9, 17.

|| See Hammond in Coloss. 1. Annot. d. [p. 652. Lond. 1675.]

Laud* in any other sense. He asserts the true and real presence of Christ in this sacred feast ; but he does not say, that Christ's natural body, which is now in heaven, is also in this holy sacrament, or in the worthy receiver ; nor have we any reason to believe that he understood it so to be. And the same must be said of Bishop Hall,† Bishop Montague,‡ and Bishop Bilson ;§ in whose expressions, as they are quoted by our author, I find nothing that proves the sense he would impose upon them ; and whose works had I now by me, I might possibly be able to give some better account of them. Though after all, should one of these in his violence against his adversaries, or the others in their pacific design of reconciling all parties as to this point, have said more than they ought to do, I do not see but that it ought to have been imputed to the circumstances they were in, and the designs they pursued, rather than be set up for the measure either of their own, or our Church's opinions.

And now I am mentioning these things, I ought not to pass over one other eminent instance of such a charitable undertaking, and which has given occasion to our author of a quotation he might otherwise have wanted, in that excellent bishop of St. Andrews, Bishop Forbes ; concerning whose authority in this matter, I shall offer only the censure of one, than whom none could have given a more worthy character of a person, who so well deserved it as that good Bishop did :|| “I do not deny, but his earnest desire of a general peace and union among all Christians, has made him too favourable to many of the corruptions in the Church of Rome ; but though a charity that is not well balanced, may carry one to very indiscreet things ; yet the principle from whence they flowed in him, was so truly good, that the errors to which it carried him ought to be either excused, or at least to be very gently censured.”

There remain now but two of all the divines he has produced to prove his new fancy, which he would set up for the doctrine of the Church of England ; and those as little for his purpose

* Archbishop Laud. 1 Tract. sect. 14. p. 8. † Bishop Hall.

‡ Montague *Origines Eccles.* tom. prior. par. poster. p. 247, 249, 250, &c. [Lond. 1640.] *Panis in Synaxi fit corpus Christi* :—*Sed et Corpus Christi CREDENTES fiunt. Ad eundem utrumque modum et mensuram ; sed non naturaliter* ;—*Itaque nec Panis ITA est Corpus Christi ; Mystice tantum, non Physice. vid. plur.* § Montague, Bilson.

|| Bishop Forbes. Author of the *Life of Bishop Bedel* ; in the Preface.

as any he has hitherto mentioned ; Bishop Taylor and Mr. Thorndyke. For Bishop Taylor, I cannot acquit our author of a wilful prevarication ; since it is evident that he has so plainly opposed his notion, and that in the very book he quotes,* and which he wrote on purpose to shew our meaning of the real presence, that he could not but have known that he misrepresented him. I shall set down the state of the question as it is in the beginning of that treatise : “The doctrine of the Church of England, and generally of the Protestants in this article is ; that after the minister of the holy mysteries hath rightly prayed and blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ after a sacramental, *i. e.* in a spiritual real manner. So that all that worthily communicate, do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of his passion.—It is bread, and it is Christ’s body : it is bread in substance, Christ in the sacrament ; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed as the symbols are, p. 183.—It is here as in the other sacrament ; for as there natural water becomes the laver of regeneration ; so here bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ : but there and here too the first substance is changed by grace, but remains the same in nature.—We say that Christ’s body is in the sacrament really, but spiritually. They (the Papists) say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference ? Here ; by *spiritually* they mean present after the manner of a spirit ; by *spiritually* we mean present to our spirits only ; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith or spiritual susception.—They say that Christ’s body is truly present there, as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all, or any body.—But we by the real spiritual presence of Christ, do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace ; and this is all we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.”

Such is the account which that excellent Bishop here gives not only of his own, but, as he expressly terms it, of the Church of England’s, and the generality of the Protestants’ belief in this matter. Our author’s dissimulation† of it is so much the more inexcusable, by how much the more zealous an advocate

* Bishop Taylor. *Polemical Discourses*, p. 182. London, 1674.

† Treatise 1st, p. 20.

he makes him of his cause, when all this that I have transcribed, was in the very same section, and almost in the same page with what he has cited. For his little remark upon the title of the Bishop's book, where he calls it of the Real Presence and Spiritual, whence he would infer a difference between the two terms, and find something real that is not spiritual in this sacrament ; it is evident that the design of that distinction was this : there be several sorts of real presences ; the Papists, the Lutherans, the Church of England, all allow a real presence in the sacrament, but after different manners ; it was therefore necessary to add somewhat more, to shew what kind of real presence he undertook to maintain, and he knew no word more proper to express it by than *spiritual* which does not therefore imply a distinction from, but limitation of the other term *real*. And thus he explains it, N. 6 and 7 of that section, where he shews that the spiritual is also a real presence,* and indeed more properly so than any other. In short, thus he concludes the state of the question,† in the same section, between us and the Church of Rome: "So that now," says he, "the question is not, Whether the symbols be changed into Christ's body and blood or no ? for it is granted on all sides : but whether this conversion be sacramental and figurative ? or whether it be natural and bodily ? Nor is it whether Christ be taken really, but whether he be taken in a spiritual, or in a natural manner ? We say the conversion is figurative, mysterious, and sacramental ; they say, it is proper, natural, and corporeal. We affirm that Christ is really taken by faith, by the Spirit, to all real effects of his passion (this is an explication a little different from our author's) ; they say he is taken by the mouth, and that the spiritual and the virtual taking him in virtue or effect, is not sufficient, though done also in the sacrament. *Hic Rhodus, hic Saltus.*"

If this does not yet satisfy him that he has injured this learned man in the representation of his opinion, directly contrary to his sense, I will offer him yet one passage more, taken from another part of his works, and which, I hope, will thoroughly convince him. It is in the fifth letter, to a gentleman that was tempted to the communion of the Church of Rome. He had proposed to the Bishop this question : "Whether, without all danger of superstition or idolatry, we

* [Ut supra] p. 183.

† [Ibid.] p. 186.

may not render divine worship to our blessed Saviour, as present in the blessed sacrament or host, according to his human nature, in that host?" The question is certainly every way pertinent to our present purpose; let us see what the answer is that he makes to it. * "We may not render divine worship to him as present in the blessed sacrament according to his human nature, without danger of idolatry, because he is not there according to his human nature, and therefore you give divine worship to a *non-ens*, which must needs be idolatry." † Well, but still it may be the Bishop does not intend to exclude the *Corpus Domini*, but only the corporeal or natural manner of that body. Let us therefore hear how he goes on. "For *idolum nihil est in mundo*, saith St. Paul, and Christ as present by his human nature in the sacrament is a *non-ens*. For it is not true; there is no such thing." What, not as Christ there, no way as to his human nature?—"No, he is," saith the Bishop, "present there by his divine power, and his divine blessing, and the fruits of his body, the real effective consequents of his passion; but for any other presence, it is *idolum*; it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven; for the heaven must contain him till the time of restitution of all things." This then is Bishop Taylor's notion of the real presence. And now I am confident our author himself will remit him to the company of those old Zuinglian bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and the rest, who lived before that Queen Elizabeth had propugned the real presence of his new model into the heads of the governors of the Church of England.

And now I am afraid his cause will be desperate, unless Mr. Thorndyke can support it. And how unlikely he is to do it, he might have learned from what has been answered to T. G. on the same occasion. T. G. ‡ had in his first Dialogue quoted the same place which our author has done since, to prove his belief of the real presence. His adversary § confesses this, but produces another that explains his meaning: "¶If it can any way be shewed," says he, "that the Church did ever pray that the flesh and blood might be substituted instead of the elements under the accidents of them, then I am content that this be accounted henceforth the sacramental presence of them in the eucharist. But if the Church only prays that the Spirit of

* See Polemic. Disc. Append. [Ibid.] p. 69, 70.

† Treatise 1st, p. 10.

‡ T. G. Dialogue 1st, p. 10.

§ Answer to T. G.'s Dialogue, p. 92.

¶ Thorndyke, Laws of the Church, ch. 4, p. 30.

God, coming down upon the elements—may make them the body and blood of Christ, so that they which receive them may be filled with the grace of his Spirit ; then is it not the sense of the Catholic Church that can oblige any man to believe the abolishing of the elements in their bodily substance, because supposing that they remain, they may nevertheless come to be the instruments of God's Spirit to convey the operation thereof to them that are disposed to receive it, no otherwise than his flesh and blood conveyed the efficacy thereof upon earth. And that I suppose is reason enough to call it the body and blood of Christ sacramentally, that is to say, as in the sacrament of the eucharist."

Thus Mr. Thorndyke expresses himself as to the real presence : but yet after all, I will not deny but that this learned person seems to have had a particular notion in this matter, and which is far enough from what our author would fix upon him. He thought that the elements by consecration were united to the Godhead of Christ, much after the same manner as his natural body was by incarnation ; and that so the very elements became after a sort his body.* "The Church from the beginning, did not pretend to consecrate by these bare words, This is my body ; this is my blood, as operatory in changing the elements into the body and blood of Christ ; but by that word of God whereby he hath declared the institution of this sacrament, and commanded the use of it ; and by the execution of this command. Now it is executed, and hath always been executed by the act of the Church upon God's word of institution, praying that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, may make them the body and blood of Christ. Not by changing them into the nature of flesh and blood ; as the bread and wine that nourished our Lord Christ on earth became the flesh and blood of the Son of God, by becoming the flesh and blood of his manhood, hypostatically united to his Godhead, saith Gregory Nyssen : but immediately and *ipso facto*, by being united to the Spirit of Christ ; *i. e.* his Godhead. For the flesh and blood of Christ by incarnation, the elements by consecration being united to the Spirit, *i. e.* the Godhead of Christ, become both one sacramentally, by being both one with the Spirit or Godhead of Christ, to the conveying of God's Spirit to a Christian."

* See his Just Weights and Measures, 4to. Lond. 1662, p. 94.

And thus have I considered the several divines produced for this new conceit concerning the real presence ; and shewn the greatest part of his authors to be evidently against it ; some not to have spoken so clearly that we can determine anything concerning them ; but not one that favours what they were alleged for, *viz.* to shew that they believed Christ's natural body to be both in heaven and in the sacrament ; only after another manner than the Papists. It were an easy matter to shew how constant our Church has been to the doctrine of the true, real, spiritual presence which it still asserts, and which it derived from its first Reformers ; those words have been before set down by a cloud of other witnesses, as may be seen by the short specimen I have put together in the margin.* But I have insisted too long already on this matter ; and shall therefore pass on to the third thing I proposed to consider; *viz.*

Thirdly, That the alterations which have been made in our Rubric, were not upon the account of our divines changing their opinions, as is vainly and falsely suggested.

To give a rational account of this affair, we must carefully consider the circumstances of the times, the tempers and dispositions of the persons that lived in them, and what the designs of the governing parties were with reference to them, and then we shall presently see both a great deal of wisdom and piety in the making of these alterations ; allowing the opinions of those who did it, to have continued, as we have seen, in all of them the same.

When first this Rubric was put into King Edward's Liturgy, the Church of England was but just rising up out of the errors and superstitions with which it had been overrun by the prevalency of Popery upon it. It had the happiness to be reformed, not as most others were, by private persons, and

* *Reformatio Legum Eccles. ex Authorit. Hen. VIII. et Edw. VI. Lond. 1641. Tit. de Sacram. cap. 4. p. 29.*—*Morton de Euch. part 2. Class. 4. cap. 1. sect. 2. p. 224. Lat. [Cantabr.] 1640. 4to.*—*Fr. White against Fisher, p. 407. Lond. 1624. fol.*—*A. B. Usher's Answer to a Challenge, c. of the Real Presence, p. 44, 45. Lond. 1625.*—*Id. Serm. before the House of Commons, p. 16, 19, &c.*—*Dr. Hammond, Pract. Catech. part. ult. Answer to this Question; the Importance of these Words, That the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received; p. 130. Edit. Lond. fol. 1684.*—*Dr. Jackson's Works, tom. 3. p. 300, 302. Lond. 1673.* Dr. Jo. White's Way to the True Church. Lond. 1624. sect. 51. n. 10. p. 209. Cosen's Hist. Transubst. p. 3, 4, 12, &c. Edit. London, 1675, 8vo.

in many places contrary to the desires of the civil power ; but by a unanimous concurrence of the highest authority both civil and ecclesiastical, of Church and State. Hence it came to pass, that Convocations being assembled, deliberations had of the greatest and wisest persons for the proceeding in it, nothing was done out of a spirit of peevishness or opposition ; the holy Scriptures and antiquity were carefully consulted ; and all things examined according to the exactest measures that could be taken from them ; and a diligent distinction made of what was Popery, and what true and Catholic Christianity, that so the one only might be rejected, the other duly retained.

Now by this means it was that the ancient government of the Church became preserved amongst us ; a just and wise Liturgy collected out of the public rituals : whatever ceremonies were requisite for order or decency, were retained ; and amongst the rest, that of receiving the communion kneeling for one, which has accordingly ever since been the manner established amongst us. But that no occasion of scandal might hereby be given, whether to our neighbour Churches abroad, or to any particular members of our own at home : that those who were yet weak in the faith, might not either continue or fall back into error, and by our retaining the same ceremony in the communion that they had been used to in the mass, fancy that they were to adore the bread as they did before : for all these great ends this caution was inserted ; that the true intent of this ceremony was only for decency and order ; not that any adoration was thereby intended, or ought to have been done unto any real or essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood, which were not there, but in heaven, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.

And this is sufficiently intimated in the words of the Rubric to have been the first cause and design of it. Thus it continued the remainder of King Edward's time : but now Queen Elizabeth being come to the crown, there were other circumstances to be considered. Those of the Reformed religion abroad were sufficiently satisfied, both by this public declaration, which had stood so many years in the Liturgy of our Church, and by the conversation and acquaintance of our divines, forced by the dispersion in the foregoing reign to seek for refuge among their brethren in other countries, of our orthodox faith, as to this point. Our own members at home had

heard too much of this matter in the public writings and disputation, and in the constant sufferings of their martyrs, not to know that the Popish real presence was a mere figment, an *idolum*, as Bishop Taylor justly styles it; and their mass to be abhorred rather than adored. There was then no longer need of this Rubric upon any of those accounts for which it was first established; and there was a very just reason now to lay it aside. That great Queen desired, if possible, to compose the minds of her subjects, and make up those divisions which the differences of religion, and the late unhappy consequences of them had occasioned. For this, she made it her business to render the public acts of the Church of England as agreeable to all parties as truth would permit. The clause of the real presence inserted in the Articles of her first Convocation, and subscribed by all the members of it (to shew that their belief was still the same that it had ever been as to this matter), was nevertheless, as we have seen, struck out for this end in their next session. The title of Head of the Church, which her father had first taken, her brother continued, and was from both derived to her, so qualified and explained, as might prevent any occasion of quarrelling at it by the most captious persons. That petition in the Litany inserted by King Henry VIII, “From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord,” &c. struck out: and in conformity to what was done in the Articles as to this point, this Rubric also was omitted, lest it should give offence to those who were still zealous for their mistaken principles and worship. This was the wise and Christian design of that excellent Princess; and how happy an effect this moderation might have had, if the Bishop of Rome had not by his artifice and authority with some of her subjects prevented it, the first years of her reign sufficiently shew.

Thus was the occasion and reason of its omission in Queen Elizabeth's time as great as the necessity of its first insertion in King Edward's. And in this state it continued all the reign of that Queen, and of her two successors, King James and King Charles I.: I shall not need to say by what means it was, that new occasion was given for the reviving of it. We have all of us heard, and many of us seen too much of it; how order became superstitious, and decency termed idolatry; the Church of England traduced as but another name for Popery; and this custom of kneeling at the communion one of the strongest arguments offered for the proof of it. And now,

when panic fears had found such prevalence over the minds of men, as to destroy a king, and embroil a kingdom into a civil war, of almost twenty years continuance ; and though by the good hand of God our king and our peace were again restored, yet the minds of the people were still unsettled, and in danger of being again blown up upon the least occasion ; what could be more advisable to justify ourselves from all suspicion of Popery in this matter, and induce them to a conformity with us in a ceremony they had entertained such a dread of, than to revive that ancient Rubric ; and so quiet the minds of the people now, by the same means by which they had been settled and secured before ?

This I am persuaded is so rational an account, as will both justify the proceedings of our governors in these changes, and shew the disingenuity of those, who not only knowing, but having been told these things, will still rather impute it to an imaginary wavering, or uncertainty of opinion, than to a necessary and Christian accommodation to the times. For the change in the prayer of consecration, I have already said, that it is in the words, not the sense : and if our governors thought the present expressions less liable to exception than the former, they had certainly reason for the alteration. For the other exceptions, there is very little in them, whether the minister lay his hand on the sacred elements when he repeats the words of institution, as at this time, or only consecrates them by the prayers of the Church and the words of Christ, without any other ceremony, as heretofore : whether with the Church of Rome we use only the words of Christ in the distribution ; or with most of the Reformed Churches, the other expression, "Take, and eat this," &c. or (as we choose rather) join them both together : whether we sing the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*—before or after the receiving ; but because the chiefest mystery he thinks lies in this, that whereas in King Edward's days the Rubric called it an *essential* presence, which we have now turned into *corporeal* ; I must confess I will not undertake to say what the occasion of it was ; if they thought this latter manner more free from giving offence than the other would have been, I think they did well to prefer it. Let every one entertain what notion he pleases of these things ; this I have shewn is the doctrine of the Church which we all subscribe : "That the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, are in heaven, and not here ;" i. e. in the sacrament ; and if there can be any other real presence than such as I have

shewn to have been the constant belief of our divines consistent with this Rubric, I shall no more desire to debar any one the belief of it, than I shall be willing to be obliged to believe it with him.

And now, after so clear an account as I have here given of the several changes that have been made in our Rubric, were I minded to recriminate, and tell the world what alterations have been made in their Mass, and those in points infinitely more material than anything that can be alleged against us, I much question whether they would be able to give us so good an account of it. And something of this I may perhaps offer as a specimen of the wisdom of this author in the choice of his accusation before we part; in the mean time I go on to the last thing proposed to be here considered.

Fourthly, That the reason mentioned in our Rubric concerning the impossibility of Christ's natural body existing in several places at the same time, is no way invalidated by any of this author's exceptions against it.

Now these being most of them founded upon the former mistaken notion of the real presence falsely imputed to us, will admit of a very short and plain consideration.

1st, He observes,* "That Protestants, but especially our English divines, generally confess the presence of our Saviour in the eucharist to be an ineffable mystery." Well, be it so; what will he hence infer? Why, "this he conceives is said to be so in respect of something in it opposite and contradictory to, and therefore incomprehensible and ineffable by human reason." But supposing they should not think it so from being opposite and contradictory to, but because the manner how Christ herein communicates himself to us is hid from, and above our human reason; might not this be sufficient to make it still be called an ineffable and incomprehensible mystery? Whereas the other would make it rather plain and comprehensible nonsense. It is a strange affection that some men have got of late for contradictions; they are so in love with them, that they have almost brought it to be the definition of a mystery, to be the revelation of something to be believed in opposition to sense and reason. And what by their notions and parallels, have advanced no very commendable character of Christianity; as if it were a religion full of absurdities; and as Fisher the Jesuit once told King James I. with reference to

* Treatise 1st, sect. 20. n. 1. p. 13.

this very subject, "the rather to be believed because it is contrary to reason."* But if this be indeed our author's notion of mysteries (and the truth is, transubstantiation can be no other mystery), we desire he will be pleased to confine it to his own Church, and not send it abroad into the world as ours too. We are persuaded, not only that our worship must be a reasonable service, but our faith a reasonable assent. "He who opposes the authority of holy Scriptures," says Bishop Taylor,† "against manifest and certain reason, does neither understand himself nor them." Reason is the voice of God as well as revelation, and what is opposite to the one, can no more be agreeable to the other, than God can be contrary to himself. And though, if the revelation be clear and evident, we submit to it, because we are then sure it cannot be contrary to reason, whatever it may appear to us; yet when the contradiction is manifest, as that a natural body should be in more places than one at the same time, we are sure that interpretation of holy Scripture can never be the right which would infer this, but especially when there is another, and much more reasonable, that does not. And in this we are, after all, justified by one, whose authority I hope our author will not question, even his own self:‡ "If," says he, "we are certain there is a contradiction, then we are certain there neither is nor can be a contrary revelation; and when any revelation, though never so plain, is brought, we are bound to interpret it so as not to affirm a certainly known impossibility." And let him that sticks to this rule interpret Christ's words for transubstantiation if he can.

“ But do not our own authors sometimes say, that notwithstanding all the difficulties brought against transubstantiation, yet if it can be shewn that God has revealed it, they are ready to believe it ? ” Perhaps some may have said this because, for that very reason that there are so many contradictions in it, they are sure it cannot be shewn that God has revealed it. But if he means, as he seems to insinuate, that notwithstanding such plain contradictions as they charge it with, they thought it possible, nevertheless, that God might have revealed it, and upon that supposition, they were ready to believe it ; I answer from his own words, that their supposal then was absurd and impossible ; since he himself assures us, that § “ None can be-

* Bishop Taylor's *Polem. Disco. of the Real Presence*, sect. 2. p. 231. [ut supra.] † *Ibid.* ‡ *Treatise 1st, sect. 29. p. 21.*

§ Treatise 1st, sect. 20. n. 3. p. 14.

lieve a thing true, upon what motive soever, which he first knows to be certainly false, or which is all one, certainly to contradict. For these we say are not verifiable by a divine power; and *ergo*, here I may say, should a divine power declare a truth, it would transcend itself." Which last words, if they signify anything, and do not transcend sense, must suppose it impossible for such a thing as implies a certain contradiction to be revealed.

II. *Observation.* But our author goes on: "I conceive that any one thing that seemeth to us to conclude a perfect contradiction, can no more be effected by Divine power than another, or than many others the like may. Seeing then we admit that some seeming contradictions to reason may be verified by the Divine power in this sacrament, there is no reason to deny but that this may be also as well as any other."

Now not to contend with him about words; who ever told our author that we allowed that there was any thing in this sacrament, as received by us, that seemed to us to include a perfect contradiction? Perfect contradictions we confess are all of them equally verifiable by a Divine power, that is, are all of them impossible. And for this we have his own word before. Now if there be any such things as perfect contradictions to be known by us, that which seems to us to be a perfect contradiction, must really be a perfect contradiction; unless contradictions are to be discovered some other way than by seeming to our reason to be so. And such it not only seems, but undoubtedly is, for the same one, natural, finite body, to be in more places than one at the same time; and if to be and not to be, be still the measure of contradictions. He that says of such a body, that it is in heaven and on earth, at London and Rome, at the same time, says in effect that it is one and not one; finite and not finite; in one place and not in one place, &c. All which are such seemingly perfect contradictions, that I fear it will be a hard matter to find out any power by which they can be verified.

III. *Observation.* He observes,* thirdly, "That those who affirm a real and substantial presence of the very body of Christ to the worthy communicant, contradistinct to any such other real presence of Christ's body, as implies only a presence of it in virtue, and spiritual effects, &c. must hold this particular seeming contradiction to be true, or some other equivalent to it."

* Treatise 1st. sect. 22. p. 15.

If by the real presence of the very body of Christ, he means, as he before explains it, That Christ's natural body, that very body which is now in heaven, should be also at the same time here upon earth ; it is, I think, necessary for those who will affirm this, to hold some such kind of contradiction as he says : and it is for that very reason, I am persuaded, he will find but few such persons in the Church of England ; which so expressly declares, that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not here, upon this very account, "that it is contrary to the truth of a natural body to be in more places than one at the same time." However, if any such there be, as they herein depart from the doctrine of their Church, so it is not our concern to answer for their contradictions.

IV. He observes, lastly :* "It seems to me that some of the more judicious amongst them (the divines he means of the Church of England) have not laid so great a weight on this philosophical position, as wholly to support and regulate their faith in this matter by it ; as it stands in opposition not only to Nature's, but the Divine power : because they pretend not any such certainty thereof, but that if any Divine revelation of the contrary can be shewed, they profess a readiness to believe it."

I shall not now trouble myself with what some of our divines may seem to him to have done in this matter ; it is evident our Church has laid stress enough upon this contradiction. Indeed where so many gross repugnances both to sense and reason are crowded together, as we have seen before there are in this point, it ought not to be wondered if our divines have not supported and regulated their faith wholly upon this one alone. We do not any of us think it either safe or pious to be too nice in determining what God can, or cannot do ; we leave that to the bold inquisitiveness of their schools. But this we think we may say, that if there are any unalterable laws of nature, by which we are to judge of these things ; then God can no more make one body to exist in ten thousand places at the same time, than he can make one, continuing one, to be ten thousand, than he can divide the same thing from itself, and yet continue it still undivided. And if any of our divines have said, that they cannot admit that one body can be in several places at once, "till the Papists can demonstrate the possibility thereof by testimony of holy Scripture, or the ancient tradition of the Primitive Church, or by

* Tract. 1. sect. 28. p. 20.

apparent reason :" we need not suppose that they said this, doubting whether it implied a contradiction, but because the certainty of the contradiction secured them against the possibility of any such proof.*

And now I know but one objection more that is, or can be offered against what I have said, and which having answered, I shall close this point : " For if this be all the Church of England understands, when it speaks of a real presence, *viz.* a real sacramental presence of Christ's body and blood in the holy signs, and a real spiritual presence in the inward communion of them to the soul of every worthy receiver ; will not this precipitate us into downright Zuinglianism,† and render us after all our pretences as very Sacramentaries as they ?" Indeed I am not able directly to say whether it will or no, because I find the opinion of Zuinglius very variously represented as to this matter. But yet, first, if by Zuinglianism he means that which is more properly Socinianism,‡ *viz.* a mere commemoration of Christ's death, and a thanksgiving to God for it ; it is evident it does not, forasmuch as we positively confess, that in this holy sacrament there is a real and spiritual grace communicated to us, even all the benefits of that death and passion which we there set forth. And this, or somewhat very like it, I find sometimes to have been maintained by Zuinglius.† But now, secondly, if by Zuinglianism he understands such a real presence as denies only the co-existence of Christ's natural body now in heaven, at the same time in this holy sacrament, but denies nothing of that real and spiritual|| communion of it

* This is evident in Bishop Taylor, who thought that God could not do this, because it implied a contradiction : Real Presence, sect. 11. n. 1. [ut supra] p. 230, and *ibid.* n. 27. He saith, " It is utterly impossible." So also Dr. White professes, " that according to the order which God has fixed by his word and will, this cannot be done :" Confer. p. 446, 447, and before, p. 181, to this objection, That though in nature it be impossible, for one and the same body to be in many places at once, yet because God is omnipotent, he is able to effect it: " We answer," says he, " it implieth a contradiction, that God should destroy the nature of a thing, the nature of the same thing remaining safe." See more, p. 180, 181. White's Works, Lond. 1624.

† See Treatise 1. p. 23. sect. 32 ; p. 24. sect. 32 ; p. 25. sect. 36, 37, &c.

‡ Smalcius de Cœn. Dom. p. 347. Id. Disp. 9. de Hypocr. p. 289. Volkelius, lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 304, 319, &c. Socinus in Parænesi, c. 4. Selichtingius Disp. de Cœn. Dom. p. 701.

§ Zuingl. See de Provid. Dei, cap. 6, &c. [Oper. vol. 1. p. 368, &c. Tigur. 1681.]

|| And this our author seems to insinuate : see the places above cited : and indeed others have alleged this as the true opinion of Zuinglius : see

we have before mentioned ; this is indeed our doctrine, nor shall we be ashamed to own it for any ill names he is able to put upon it. But yet I wonder why he should call this Zuinglianism ; since if the common name of Catholic, or Christian doctrine, be not sufficient, he might have found out a more ancient abettor of this real presence than Zuinglius, and the truth is, one of the most dangerous opposers both of their head and their faith that ever was ; I mean St. Paul, who has not only clearly expressed himself against them, as to this point of the eucharist, 1 Cor. x. 16 ; but in most of their other errors left such pernicious sayings to the world, as all their authority and infallibility, let me add, nor all their anathemas neither, will not be able to overcome.

I shall close up this discourse of the real presence acknowledged by us in this holy sacrament, with a plain familiar example, and which may serve at once both to illustrate and confirm the propriety of it. A father makes his last will, and by it bequeaths his estate, and all the profits of it to his child.* He delivers it into the hands of his son, and bids him take there his house and lands, which by this his last will he delivers to him. The son in this case receives nothing but a roll of parchment, with a seal tied to it from his father ; but yet by virtue of this parchment he is entitled to his estate, performing the conditions of his will, and to all the benefits and advantages of it : and in that deed he truly and effectually received the very house and lands that were thereby conveyed to him. Our Saviour Christ, in like manner, being now about to leave the world, gives this holy sacrament, as his final bequest to us ; in it he conveys to us a right to his body and blood, and to all his spiritual blessings and graces that proceed from them. So that as often as we receive this holy eucharist, as we ought to do, we receive indeed nothing but a little bread and wine into our hands ; but by the blessing and promise of Christ, we, by that bread and wine, as really and truly become partakers of Christ's body and blood, as the son by the will of his father was made inheritor of his estate : nor is it any more necessary for this, that Christ's body should come down from heaven, or the outward elements which we receive, be substantially turned into it, than it is necessary in that other

Calvin. Tract. de Coen. Dom. Defens. Sacram. Admonit. ad Westphal. et Passim alibi. Vid. insuper libr. de Orthod. Consens. c. 7. And especially Hospin. [ut supra] p. 42, 55, 177, &c. Hist. Sacr. part 2.

* Vid. Cosen's Hist. Transubstantiationis, cap. 5. sect. 5. [ut supra] p. 57.

case, that the very house and lands should be given into the hands of the son to make a real delivery or conveyance of them ; or the will of the father be truly and properly changed into the very nature and substance of them.

PART II.—CHAP. III.

Of the Adoration of the Host, as prescribed and practised in the Church of Rome.

WE are now arrived at the last part of this discourse ; in which I must thus far change the method I pursued in the other subject, as to consider,

First, What the doctrine of the Church of England as to this point is ; and what our adversaries' exceptions against it are.

Secondly, What is the doctrine of the Church of Rome ; and whether what this author has said in favour of it may be sufficient to warrant their practice as to this matter.

For the former of these, the doctrine of the Church of England, we shall need go no farther than the Rubric we have before mentioned ;* wherein it is expressly declared, with reference to this holy sacrament, “That no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any corporeal presence of Christ’s body and blood : for that the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored (for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians), and the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, are in heaven and not here ; it being against the truth of Christ’s natural body, to be at one time in more places than one.”

This then being sufficiently cleared, let us see what this author has to observe against it.

1. “He supposes that we will grant,† that if there were a corporeal presence of Christ’s natural body in this holy sacrament, then kneeling and adoration would be here also due upon such an account.” He means, that were Christ himself here in his body actually present, he ought to be adored ; and this he need not doubt of our readiness to grant.

* Rubr. at the end of the Communion.

† Treatise 1. ch. 4. sect. 39. p. 27.

2. "Though the corporeal presence of Christ's body,* *i. e.* of its being there *ad modum corporis*, or clothed with the ordinary properties of a body, be denied ; as it is, not only by the English divines, but by the Lutheran and Roman : yet let there be any other manner of presence (known from divine revelation) of the very same body and blood ; and this as real and essential, as if corporeal ; and then I do not see but that adoration will be no less due to it thus, than so, present."

Now to this I shall at present only say, that the supposition being absurd, does not admit of a rational consideration. Those who deny a bodily presence of Christ's body in the eucharist, and ask whether adoration may not be paid to his body, which is confessed not to be bodily present there, supposing it to be there some other way ; ought to have no other satisfaction than this, that they suppose an impossibility, a thing which cannot be ; and therefore concerning which no reasonable answer can be given. Some I know have been more free, and allowing for the unreasonableness of the supposal, have resolved contrary to our author : but I think it very needless to dispute of the affections of a chimera ; and wrangle about notions that have neither use nor existence.

3. He observes, lastly,† "That the Church of England hath believed and affirmed such a presence (he means of Christ's body in the eucharist) to which they thought adoration due." I presume it was then in the times of Popery ; for since the Reformation, I have shewn before, that she has always held the contrary. But our author will prove it, and that since the Reformation :‡ "For," he says, "he has in his time met with no less than five of our writers, and those of no mean account neither, that have been of this opinion." This indeed is a very notable way of proving the doctrine of our Church : but what now if I should bring him fifteen others that have denied it ; then I hope the doctrine of the Church of England may be as fair for the contrary. But we will examine his evidence.

First :§ "Bishop Andrews," he says, "declares, that though we adore not the sacrament, yet we adore Christ in and with the sacrament, besides and without the sacrament : and assures the world that King James looked upon Christ to be truly present, and truly to be adored in it. "How this Bishop thought

* Ibid. sect. 40.

† Treatise 1. p. 28. sect. 41.

‡ Ibid.

§ Treatise 1. sect. 42. p. 28.

Christ truly present in the sacrament we have seen before ; and may from thence easily conclude how he supposed he might be adored there : *viz.* as in all other holy offices, in which we confess him by his Divine power to be present with us, but especially in this sacred mystery. And thus we all adore him, both in and with, and without the sacrament ; we confess him to be truly present, and therefore truly to be adored by us. But now for Christ's natural body (of which, and not of Christ himself, our dispute is), if that be any otherwise truly present than as we before shewed, let it be remembered, that according to this Bishop, it must not be his glorified body, his body as it now is ;* but his body crucified, his body as offered for us, and in the state of his death ; so he expressly affirms, and this I believe our author himself will confess in his sense to be impossible.

His next witness is Bishop Taylor :† “ We worship, he means,” says this author, “ the body, or the flesh of Christ (in the eucharist). ” But is he sure the Bishop meant so ? If he be, I am sure the Bishop thought we all of us committed idolatry in so doing. For being consulted, as we have seen above,‡ “ Whether, without all danger of idolatry, we may not render divine worship to our blessed Saviour as present in the blessed sacrament or host, according to his human nature in that host ? ” He expressly declares, “ We may not render divine worship to him as present in the blessed sacrament, according to his human nature, without danger of idolatry, because he is not there according to his human nature ; and therefore you give divine worship to a *non-ens*, which must needs be idolatry. ” And indeed this our author knew very well was his opinion, who himself in his next treatise, cites the 13th section of his Real Presence,§ which was written on purpose to prove the unlawfulness of worshipping Christ's body in this sacrament. But dissimulation of other men's opinions in matter of religion, is perhaps as lawful on some occasions, as if it were their own : and why may not an author prevaricate the doctrine of his adversary in defence of the Catholic faith, since I have read of a Protestant minister,|| who in the troubles of France being

* See above.

† Treatise 1. sect. 43. p. 28.

‡ See Polemical Discourses, 5, Letter at the end.

§ Treatise 2. p. 9. sect. 6. n. 2.

|| The story was published in the Memoirs of Monsieur D'Eageant printed with permission at Grenoble, 1668. p. 246. I will set it down in his

brought over to the King's interest, was secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome, and permitted so far to dissemble his own opinion, as not only to continue in the outward profession of the Protestant religion, but even to exercise the functions of his ministry as before ; and that by the express leave of his Holiness, for three whole years, the better to carry on the Catholic cause in betraying the secrets, and managing the debates of his brethren.

As for Bishop Forbes and the Archbishop of Spalato, it is not to be wondered if men that had entertained the design of reconciling all parties, were forced to strain sometimes a little farther than was fit for the doing of it. And for Mr. Thorn-dyke, we have seen that his notion of the real presence was particular, and widely different both from theirs and ours ; and therefore that we are not to answer for the consequences of it. But, however, to quit these just exceptions against them : will he himself allow every thing to be the doctrine or not of the Church of Rome, which I shall bring him three of their authors to affirm or deny ? If he will, then Transubstantiation is not their doctrine, for I have already quoted above twice three of their most learned men against it : to adore an unconsecrated host by mistake, is idolatry ; for so St. Thomas, Paludanus, Catharine, and others, assure us : to worship the host, supposing their doctrine of transubstantiation false, a worser idolatry than any heathens were ever guilty of ; so several of their writers confess. But now if our author will not allow this to be good arguing against them, with what reason does he go about to urge it against us ?

Secondly, We must in the next place consider what the doctrine of the Church of Rome as to this point is ; and whether what this author has advanced in favour of it, may be sufficient to warrant their practice of this adoration.

For the doctrine of the Church of Rome, I find it thus

own words. Il y avoit déjà quelque tems que D'Eageant avoit gagné l'un des Ministres de la Province de Languedoc, qui étoit des plus employez aux affaires et menées de ceux de la R. P. R. et en l'estime particulière de Monsieur de Lesdiguiers. Il avoit même secrètement moyenne sa conversion ; et obtenu un bref de Rome, portant qu'encore qu'il eut été receu augiron de l'Eglise, il luy étoit permis de continuer son ministere durant 3 ans, pourveu qu'en ses prêches il ne dit rien de contraire à la creance de la vraye Eglise, et qu'il ne célébrât point la cene. Le bref fut obtenu, afin que le ministre peut estre continue dans les emplois qu'il avoit, à decouvrir les menées qui se faisoient dans le Royaume.

clearly set down by the Council of Trent :* “There can be no doubt, but that all the faithful of Christ, after the manner that has ever been received in the Catholic Church, ought to give that supreme worship which is due to the true God, to his holy sacrament. For it is nevertheless to be adored, because it was instituted by our Lord Christ that it might be received : forasmuch as we believe the same God to be present in it, of whom the eternal Father, when he brought him into the world, said, And let all the angels of God worship him.” That therefore, according to this Council, is to be worshipped which Christ instituted to be received, and in which they believe Christ to be present : but it is no other than the holy sacrament, as these Trent Fathers here expressly and properly style it ; which we all confess Christ instituted to be received, and in which they suppose Christ to be present : and therefore it is the sacrament which is to be adored. Which reasoning I find Cardinal Pallavicini thus improving in his history of this Council :† “It is well known,” says he, “that to make a whole adorable with the supreme adoration, it is sufficient that one part of that whole merits such a worship.” This he illustrates in the example of Christ’s humanity ; and thence concludes, “How then ought we not in like manner to adore this sacrament which is a whole, that contains as its principal part the body of Christ ?”

It is therefore, as I conceive, the undoubted doctrine of the Church of Rome, that the holy sacrament of the eucharist, for the reason here given, is to be adored with that supreme adoration that is due to the true God.

Now to warrant their practice in this matter, our author thus proceeds in proof of it :

I. He premises some propositions, which he calls, “Protestant Concessions.”‡

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 13. cap. 5. p. 5, 7. [p. 94. Mechlin. 1826.] Nullus itaque dubitandi locus relinquitur, quin omnes Christi fideles, pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto, latriæ cultum, qui vero deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant. Neque enim ideo minus est adorandum, quod fuerit à Christo D. ut sumatur, institutum : nam illum eundem Deum præsentem IN EO adesse credimus, quem Pater aëternus introducens in orbem terrarum, dicit: Et adorent eum omnes angeli Dei. Hebr. i.

† Card. Pallavicini Istoria del Concilio di Trento : parte seconda, l. 12. c. 7. p. 298. [Rom. 1664.] Ora è notissimo, che, accioche un tutto s’adori con adorazione di latria, basta che una parte di quel tutto meriti questo culto. —Come dunque non douremo parimenti adorare questo sacramento, il quale è un tutto che contiene come parte principale il corpo di Christo.

‡ Answer to his Second Discourse.

II. Some others, which he styles, "Catholic Assertions."
And then,

III. Goes on to shew what warrant they have for that belief on which this adoration is founded.

I shall distinctly follow him in every one of these.

In his first part, which he calls, "Protestant Concessions," I will go on with him thus far:*

1st,† "That supreme and divine adoration is due to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

2ndly,‡ "That wherever the body of our Lord now is, there must also his whole person be."

"And therefore, 3rdly,§ That wherever Christ's body is truly and really present, there his Divine Person is supremely adorable."

But now for his next assertion :|| "That it is affirmed by many Protestants, especially those of the Church of England, that this body and blood of our Lord is really present, not only in virtue, but in substance in the eucharist :"¶ if he means, as in his former treatise he explained himself, that the very natural body of Christ, that body that was born of the Virgin, and crucified on the cross, and is now in heaven, is also as to its substance truly and really present on earth in the holy eucharist, or to the worthy receiver: I have in the foregoing chapter fully shewn this new fancy to be neither the doctrine of the Church of England, nor the opinion of those very writers whom he produces for proof of it. And as to the adoration of it upon any such account,|| I have just now declared his mistake of them in that point too. And I shall not follow our author's ill example in repeating it all over again.

For his fifth remark,†† "That the Lutherans affirm that Christ's body and blood are present, not only to the worthy communicants, but to the consecrated symbols, and whilst so present, which is during the action of the Lord's supper (*i.e.* says he, as I conceive them, from the consecration, till the end of the communion), are to be adored :" I answer, first, As to the former part, it is confessed that the Lutherans do indeed suppose Christ to be present, not only to the worthy communicants, but also to the consecrated symbols. But now, secondly, for the other part, that "during the action of

* Part I. Protestant Concessions.

† Sect. 1. p. 1.

‡ Ibid. sect. 2.

§ Ibid. sect. 3.

|| Sect. 5. n. 1. p. 2.

¶ See Treatise 1. p. 5. sect. 7.

** Disc. 2. p. 8. sect. 6. n. 1.

†† Sect. 7. p. 10.

the Lord's supper, he is to be adored there ;" this is not so certain. For, 1. I do not find any thing established amongst them as to this matter, neither in the Confession of Augsburg, nor in any other public acts of their Church. 2. I find several of their divines utterly denying that Christ's body is to be adored in the holy sacrament ; and our author* himself confesses it. Though now, 3.† I will not deny but that some others of them do allow, if not that Christ's body, yet that Christ himself is to be adored after a peculiar manner in the action of the Lord's supper ; and as far as I conceive, do by the action mean, as our author here represents it, from the consecration to the end of the communion. So that then, with this limitation, his proposition I presume may be admitted : " That the Lutherans do acknowledge that Christ is present during the action of the Lord's supper ; and therefore it is by several of them supposed, that he ought to be adored in it."

As to the sixth and last concession,‡ which he draws from Monsieur Daille's Apology, " That though we do not ourselves believe the real presence of Christ's body in the signs, yet neither do we esteem the belief of it so criminal, as to oblige us to break off communion with all those that hold it ; and therefore, that had the Roman Church no other error but this, that it would not have given us any sufficient cause of separation from it ;" we are ready to admit it, always supposing that the belief of it had not been pressed upon us neither, as a necessary article of communion, nor any anathema pronounced against us for not receiving it. And for the other part of it which he subjoins,§ " that a disciple giving divine honour, upon mistake, to another person, much resembling our Saviour Christ, would have been no idolater ;" from whence he would infer, " that therefore, allowing a consecrated host to be truly adorable, a person that should by mistake adore an unconsecrated one, would not be guilty of idolatry :" we are content to allow it ; though what use he can make of it in this controversy, unless against his own brethren, St. Thomas, Paludanus, and others, I do not understand ; since he knows we utterly deny any host, consecrated or not, to be fit to be

* See below, Disc. 2. p. 16.

† Conrad. Schlusselburgius, Catal. Hæret. 1. 3. Arg. 45. p. 205. Item Arg. 103. p. 280. It. Arg. 174. p. 327. Francof. 1605. And Hospinian quotes it of Luther himself, that it was his opinion, Concord. Discor. p. 358. n. 16. Genev. 1678.

‡ Sect. 6. p. 10, 11.

§ Ibid. p. 11.

worshipped. And this may serve for his first foundation of Protestant Concessions ; which were they every one as certain as his first is, that “ Christ is to be adored,” I cannot see what his cause would gain by it ; and he has not by any application of them in this treatise given us the least reason to think that they are of any moment in it. But some men have a peculiar faculty of amusing the world with nothing : and I remember, I once heard a judicious and modest man give this character of an author much resembling ours, with reference to his *Guide in Controversy*, that for a book which carried a great appearance of reasoning, it had the least in it of any he ever met with. But I go on,

II. To his “Catholic Assertions.”*

And first : “ Catholics (as he calls them) affirm in the eucharist after the consecration,† a sign, or symbol to remain still distinct, and having a diverse existence from that of the thing signified, or from Christ’s body contained in or under it.” This it is true the Papists, or if you please, the Catholics do affirm ; because that otherwise they could not call it a Sacrament. But now, if we inquire what that which they call a sign, or a symbol, in this holy sacrament is, we shall find it to be neither such as our blessed Saviour established, nor indeed any thing that can in propriety of speech be so termed.

For our Saviour Christ, it is evident that the symbols instituted by him, were bread and wine : they were these that he took and blessed, and gave to his disciples ; and commanded them also in like manner to take, and bless, and give to others in remembrance of him : and as the symbols of his body and blood in this holy eucharist. But now for the Papists ; they destroy the bread and the wine ; they leave only a few airy, empty species, that is, appearances of something, but which are really nothing, have no substance to support them.

The symbols established by Christ were festival symbols, a matter apt for our corporeal nourishment ; to signify to us, that as by them, *viz.* by bread and wine, our bodies are nourished to a corporeal life, so by the body and blood of Christ, which they both represent and communicate to us, our souls are fed to life everlasting. But for that which hath no substance, *i. e.* nothing which can be converted into our bodily nourishment : how that can be a symbol of this spiritual food I do not very well understand. Indeed, our author

* Part 2. Catholic Assertions.

† P. 13. sect. 9.

tells us,* “That though after consecration the substance of the bread and wine is denied to remain, yet is substance here taken in such a sense, as that neither the hardness, nor the softness, nor the frangibility, nor the savour, nor the odour, nor the nutritive virtue of the bread, nor nothing visible or tangible, or otherwise perceptible by any sense, is involved in it :” that is to say, that the symbol or external sign then in this eucharist, is according to them, a hard, soft, frangible, gustible, odoriferous, nutritive, visible, tangible, perceptible nothing. Verily, a fit external species indeed to contain, a one, manifold ; visible, invisible ; extended, unextended ; local, illocal ; absent, present ; natural, supernatural ; corporeal, spiritual body.

Secondly, Concerning the adoration of the Sacrament, he tells us,† “That this word *sacrament*, is not to be taken always in the same sense ; but sometimes to be used to signify only the external sign, or symbols ; sometimes only the *res sacramenti*, or the thing contained under them, which is the more principal part thereof.” This indeed is a sort of new divinity. I always thought hitherto, that when we talked of a Sacrament, properly so called, we had “meant an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace :” and that this particular sacrament had been a whole composed of the external species (whatever they are), as the sign, and the body and blood of Christ as the inward part, or thing signified. Thus I am sure the Catechism of the Council of Trent‡ instructs us. First, for the name ; it tells us, that “The Latin doctors have thought that certain signs, subjected to the senses, which declare, and as it were set before the eyes, the grace which they effect, may fitly be called Sacraments.” And for the nature of them, thus it defines a sacrament from St. Austin, “It is the sign of a holy thing ; or more fully, as I before said, a visible sign of an invisible grace, instituted for our justification.” So that neither the symbols alone, nor the invisible part, or grace alone, can with any manner of propriety be called a sacrament ; but the sign referred to the grace ; and as it is the symbol instituted by Christ for the conferring of it.

This therefore can with no good reason be called a Catholic assertion ; being neither general nor true : but however, since

* P. 14. sect. 10.

† P. 14. sect. 11.

‡ Catech. ad Paroch. part. 2. de Sacram. n. 3 et 5. p. 92. [p. 110. Par. 1831.]

he seems content to allow it to be an impropriety of speech, and that, I confess, the Catechism of the Council of Trent* does lead him into it, let us see what use he can make of it. "And as Protestants much press, so Catholics (Roman Catholics) willingly acknowledge a great difference between these two, the worshipping of the sacrament, as this word is taken for the symbols, and the worshipping of Christ's body in the sacrament."† There is, no doubt, a great difference between these two: but then they who tell us the sacrament is to be adored, if they will speak rationally, must mean neither the one nor other of these, but the host; that is, as Cardinal Pallavicini expounds it, "the whole, of which Christ's body is a part;" in the language of the Council of Trent, the sacrament in which they believe Christ to be present, and for that cause adore it; as the Cardinal again argues,‡ that, "to make a whole adorable, it is sufficient that one part be so; and therefore since the body of Christ is adorable, the sacrament for its sake is to be worshipped." It is therefore a mere shift to tell us that the sacrament is to be adored, *i. e.* Christ's body in the sacrament. Nor will the remark of our author help us out, that though the Chapter§ indeed calls it "the sacrament in which is Christ's body," yet the Canon speaks more precisely, and calls it "Christ in the sacrament;" unless he supposes the Council to have been infallible in the Canons only, and not in the Chapters; as some have thought, that they may be out in their proofs, but cannot be in their conclusions. But, however, since he so much desires it, for my part I shall be content to allow them this too; for I should be glad by any means to see them sensible of their errors. But yet so as that it be esteemed only a private opinion this, not a Catholic assertion.

Thirdly, "Catholics," he means the Papists still,|| "ground their adoration, not upon transubstantiation; as if transubstantiation defeated, adoration is so too; but on a real presence with the symbols, which in general is agreed on by the Lutherans together with them." By which assertion, if he means only to make this discovery, that Christ's real presence, together with the substance of the bread and wine, is in his opinion as good a ground for adoration, as if he were there only with the species of the bread, the substance being changed

* Catech. Conc. Trid. part. 2. de Euch. sect. 8. nota, p. 144. [Ibid. p. 173.]

† P. 15. sect. 11.

§ P. 16. sect. 13.

‡ See above, p. 91, 92.

|| P. 21. sect. 17.

into his body ; I have no more to say to it. But if he would hereby make us believe, that it is all one whether Christ be adored, as supposed here by the Lutherans in this holy eucharist, and as imagined there by the Papists ; I must then deny his assertion, and desire him to keep home to his own manner of real presence, and which I shall presently convince him will leave them in a much worse condition than their neighbours, whom he would draw into the same snare with them. And therefore, whereas he concludes,

Fourthly,* “That supposing transubstantiation to be an error, yet if the tenet of corporeal, or real presence (as held by the Lutherans, or others), be true ; Catholics (he would say Papists) plead their adoration is no way frustrated, but still warrantable :” I must tell him that the adoration of those among the Lutherans, who worship Christ in this sacrament upon the account of his real presence in, or with the bread, though it be an error, yet is infinitely more excusable than theirs, who suppose the bread to be turned into Christ’s body ; and because it may not be thought that I speak this out of any prejudice against them, I will here offer my reasons for it.

First, They that adore Christ as really present, together with the bread, do no violence to their senses : they confess, that what they see, and taste, and feel, and smell, is really bread and wine. Whilst the Papist in denying the bread and wine to remain, or that what he sees, and feels, and smells, and tastes, is what all the world perceives and knows it is, contradicts his senses, and in them the law of nature, that means which God has given us to direct and lead us into the search of truth ; and by consequence errs against infinitely greater means of conviction, and so is more inexcusable than the other.

Secondly, They who worship Christ, as supposing him to be together with the bread in this holy eucharist, are erroneous indeed in this, that they take Christ’s body to be where really it is not ; but yet their object is undoubtedly right, and in that they are not mistaken. But now for the Papist ; he adores, it is confessed, what he thinks to be Christ’s body, and would not otherwise adore it : but yet still it is the host that he adores, the substance that is under those species which he sees ; and which if it be not Christ, but mere substance of bread, the case is vastly altered between the Lutheran and him. The former adores Christ, only as in a place where he is not ; the latter not only does this, but moreover adores a

substance for Christ which is not his body and blood, but a mere creature of bread and wine.

Monsieur Daille therefore might rightly enough say of a Lutheran,* “that his adoration is mistaken, not in this—that it addresseth itself to an object not adorable, but only that by error it seeks and thinks to enjoy it in a place where it is not; and so becomes only vain and unprofitable:” and yet our author has no manner of reason from thence to pretend, that a Papist who terminates his adoration upon a substance which really is not Christ’s body, but only mistaken by him to be so, shall be in the same condition; there being an apparently vast difference between worshipping Christ in a place where he is not, and worshipping that for Christ which really is not Christ, but only a created substance.

And this in truth our author seems to have been sensible of, and therefore thinks to evade it by saying, †“That they do not worship the substance that is in that place, under such accidents, whatever it be (which if bread should happen to be there, he confesses would make them bread-worshippers), but they worship it only upon supposition that it is Christ’s body, and not bread.”

Well, be this so; but what now if they are mistaken in their supposition: they worship, he confesses, the substance that is under those accidents, supposing it to be Christ’s body; but still, mistaken or not, that substance which is under those species, whatever it be, they do worship: and if they have, as he thinks, a rational ground for this supposition, which we shall see by and by, yet this will only excuse them from being formal idolaters, but will not hinder but that their worship is still directed to an undue object, if that which is under the species be indeed but bread, and not Christ’s body, as they imagine. And this then may serve to argue the falseness of what he lays down as his

Fifth Catholic Assertion,‡ “That supposing both the Lutherans and Papists mistaken in their opinion, yet there can be no pretence why the one should not be as excusable as the other.” Since, as I have said, 1st, They err more grossly in abandoning the conviction of their senses, which the Lutherans do not; 2ndly, They worship a substance for Christ, which really is not: to which if this be not enough I will add yet two other reasons; 3rdly, That they make the consecration, without which Christ is not present upon their own principles,

* P. 23. sect. 19.

† Ibid. p. 23.

‡ P. 22. sect. 19.

to depend on such uncertainties (as I shall more fully shew anon) that they can never be sure that Christ is there, which the Lutherans are free from: and, lastly, They anathematize those who dissent from them as to this point, and so make a schism in dividing the unity of the Church, which the Lutherans are so far from doing, that they neither establish any doctrine of adoration at all, nay, many of them do not believe it; and upon occasion, freely communicate with those who dissent from them in their belief, both of the way of the real presence, and of the adoration. And for the same reason I cannot totally assent to his

Sixth Assertion :* “That supposing there be no such real presence as either of them believes, yet that their adoration of Christ, who is a true object of supreme adoration, and only by them mistaken to be in some place where he is not, cannot be termed any such idolatry, as is the worshipping of an object not at all adorable.”

This, as to what concerns those of the Lutherans who adore Christ in the sacrament, is true; but for the Papist it is not. He intends, I allow it, to worship Christ, but he mistakes an object for Christ which is only a piece of bread. He worships his host, supposing it to be our Saviour’s body, but his error is gross, and he not only mistakes Christ to be in a place where he is not, but he mistakes that to be Christ which indeed is not, but only a simple wafer. His worship therefore is not like the Manichees’ worshipping of Christ in the sun; but rather as if the Manichee should, from some mistaken grounds, have fancied the sun itself to be turned into Christ’s body; and then in defiance of all Scripture, sense, and reason, should have fallen down before it; but with a good intention not to adore the sun, but the body of our blessed Lord under the species or accidents of the sun. This is the true parallel; only that herein still the Manichee would have been the more excusable of the two, by how much the sun is a more likely object to be mistaken for Christ’s glorified body than a morsel of bread; and less capable of being discovered by our senses and examination not to be so.

It remains then, that these Lutherans only adore Christ where he is not; the Papists not only do this, but moreover they adore that for Christ which really is not, but a mere created substance. Both the one and the other are erroneous; but the Papist’s mistake renders him at the least guilty of

material idolatry, whereas the Lutherans is only an undue application of his worship as to the place, but right as to the person. Let us see,

Seventhly, How far their mistake will excuse them, in answer to his seventh Assertion :* “That however a Manichæan may be guilty of idolatry for worshipping Christ in the sun ; and an Israelite for worshipping God as specially resident in the calves of Dan and Bethel, because it is adoring a fancy of their own, without any rational ground or pretence thereof ; and however merely a good intention, grounded upon a culpable ignorance, can excuse none from idolatry, or any other fault ; yet if Catholics (*i. e.* the pretended Roman Catholics) can produce a rational ground of their apprehending Christ present in the eucharist, though possibly mistaken in it, they are to be excused from idolatry.” Which proposal is so just, that I am very willing to allow it ; and shall be heartily glad that the grounds of their mistake may in the end prove to have been so reasonable as to excuse them. But then it must be remembered too, that he confesses if these grounds be not reasonable, but as he says of the Manichees, their adoring of the host being indeed an adoring a fancy of their own, without any rational ground, so that their ignorance in this matter is culpable, then by their own allowance they are idolaters.

This therefore brings me to the last thing to be inquired into.

III. What grounds they have for this Adoration ? And whether they be such as, should they be mistaken in it, will be sufficient to excuse them ?

And thus after a great deal of preamble, but very little to the purpose, we are at last come to the main question. I have already so largely shewn our reasons against transubstantiation, or that real presence on which this adoration is built, that I shall not need to insist here. Yet because the stress of this controversy depends principally on this last part, I will,

1st, Examine the strength of those grounds which this author has offered, to warrant their Adoration.

2ndly, I will propose an argument or two upon their own allowed principles against it.

But before we proceed to these points, we must yet have one touch more upon the old string :† “For the Lutherans,” he says, “being allowed to have such a plausible ground or motive for their adoration, whereby they become absolved by

* P. 26. sect. 22.

† P. 26. sect. 23.

other Protestants from idolatry, in adoring our Lord as present there, I see not why the grounds of Roman Catholics should be any whit less valued than theirs."

In answer to which, the reader may please to remember, that I have before said, that we do not excuse those Lutherans who do this, so much upon this principle, that they have a more plausible ground, or motive, for their adoration; but for this rather, that confessing the substance of the bread to remain, they do not mistake their object, but pay their adoration indeed to Christ, only supposing him to be there where in truth he is not. But, 2ndly, This author is very much mistaken if he thinks the Lutherans have no better a foundation for their real presence than the Papists.* Indeed, were the difference no greater than between a *con* and a *trans*, it would, I confess, be hardly worth the while to contend about it. But when we come to the point itself, we may observe these four advantages, among many others, of the Lutheran's side. 1. They confess for the outward elements, that they are really what they appear to be, bread and wine; and so they do no violence to their senses: which, as I have said, is a great aggravation against the Papists. 2. By this means they are at no defiance with all those texts of Scripture where they are so often called bread and wine after consecration: all which the Papist contradicts, but the Lutheran does not. 3. From the words of Christ, "This is my body," we all of us confess may be inferred, that Christ's body is in this holy sacrament: but whence does the Papist infer the destruction of the substance of the bread; so that what is taken, and blessed, and given, is not bread, but Christ's body under the appearance of bread? This is an error which I am sure the text gives no manner of colour to; and therefore our author cannot with any reason pretend, as he does, whether we consult the text of holy Scripture, or our own senses, that they have as good grounds for their real presence, as the Lutherans have for theirs. To all which let me add, 4thly, That by transubstantiation they destroy the very nature of a sacrament, by leaving no true external sign or symbol, and which is another unanswerable argument against them, whilst the Lutherans, acknowledging the substance of the bread to remain, do not destroy at all the nature of this sacrament, but retain the same sign which our blessed Lord established, and so have no objection on this side neither to convict them.

* See Ibid.

But yet, notwithstanding all this, * “Do not some of our writers confess, that the Papists’ interpretation is more rational than the Lutherans?” I answer; what certain Protestants may have said in zeal for their own opinions, and in particular Hospinian upon the account of his master Zuinglius, I cannot tell: but sure I am, we are not bound to answer for all that any Protestant author has said. And if these reasons I have here given for the contrary are valid, they ought to be more regarded, than the ungrounded assertions of a Sacramental historian.

Well,† but still the “Papist does not ground his adoration upon transubstantiation, but on corporeal presence; and so they must both be excused, or neither.”

This is a fetch to very little purpose; for let me ask this author: he confesses he founds his adoration upon the corporeal presence: does he believe the corporeal presence in the way of transubstantiation exclusive to all others, or no? If he does, then it is evident that the corporeal presence and transubstantiation must with him stand or fall together; and so if he adores on the account of the corporeal presence, he does it upon the account of transubstantiation. If he does not believe this, it is plain he is no Papist, nor submits to the authority of the Church of Rome, which has defined the corporeal presence to be after this particular manner, exclusive to all others, and anathematized all that dare to deny it.

Laying aside therefore this comparison, and which in truth will do them but very little kindness:‡ “let us view more particularly what rational grounds they have to exhibit for this their belief of their corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and of the adoration of him upon that account.”

I. *Ground.* And the first is Divine revelation:§ for which our author offers the two usual instances, of the words of institution, and the 6th chapter of St. John; both which therefore I have at large discoursed on above, and I believe sufficiently shewn how false a foundation these are of this belief.

But yet since our author reminds us,|| “that against these no argument taken from our senses or reason is valid:” I will beg leave to remind him of his own assertion too,¶ “that none can believe a thing true, upon what motive soever, that he knows certainly to be false, or which is all one, certainly to contradict.”**—So that if our reason then makes us certain of

* P. 26, 27.

† P. 27.

‡ P. 27. sect. 24.

§ Ibid.

|| P. 27, 28.

¶ See Treatise 1. p. 14.

** P. 21. Treat. 1.

such a contradiction, we may be certain that there neither is nor can be a contrary revelation; and when any revelation, though *never so plain*, is brought, we are bound to interpret it so, as not to affirm a certainly known impossibility."

From which principle it seems to me to follow, that were *Hoc est Corpus meum*, as evident a proof for transubstantiation as their own authors confess it is not; yet if our sense and reason tell us that there are certain contradictions against the common principles of nature, and the universal sentiments of all mankind, no otherwise to be avoided but by taking those words in the sense in which we do, we are then *bound* to interpret them so as to avoid these impossibilities. And this I am confident I have at large shewn above to be the case, and thither I refer the reader.

II. *Ground.* Their second ground* is founded upon the authority of those Councils that have determined this matter: "The declaration," as he calls it, "of the most supreme and universal Church authority that hath been assembled in former times for the decision of this controversy, long before the birth of Protestantism."

These are great words indeed; but I wonder who ever heard before that a few miserable Synods of particular prelates,† such as are all those to which he refers us, assembled against Berengarius, were "the most supreme and universal Church authority?" For this little reflection, that they were assembled "long before the birth of Protestantism," I must tell him, I doubt he is mistaken. The religion of Protestants, like that of Papists, is composed of two great parts: Catholic Christianity, common in some measure to us all; and Protestations against Popery. Now it is true, for what concerns the latter of these, we allow Popery to have the advantage of us, as to the point of antiquity, nor are we ashamed to own it: it being necessary that they should have fallen into errors before we could protest against them; but as to the present matter, our author in his Guide,‡ to which he refers us, confesses that Berengarius, against whom these little Synods were called, proceeded upon Protestant grounds, *i. e.* in effect was a Protestant as to this point; and therefore it is false in him now to say, that these Councils were assembled long before the birth of Protestantism.

But I return to his Church authority; and answer: 1. If

* P. 28. sect. 25.

† These are his Synods: at Rome, Vercelles, Tours; Rome again, An. 1059, and again, An. 1078. ‡ Disc. 1. p. 55. sect. 57.

this doctrine be certainly contrary to sense and reason, as was before said, then he has told us before, that “no motive whatever, no revelation, though never so plain, can be sufficient to engage us to believe it.” 2. For his Councils, the eldest of them was above a thousand years after Christ, when by our own confession, the error, though not of transubstantiation, yet of the corporeal presence, was creeping into the Church. 3. These Councils were themselves a party against Berengarius, and therefore no wonder if they condemned him. 4. They were neither universal of the whole Church, nor even of the Western Patriarchate in which they assembled; and therefore we can have no security that they did not err, though we should grant this privilege to a truly General Council that it could not. 5. It is evident that some of them did err; forasmuch as the very formularies* of recantation prescribed to Berengarius, do not agree the one with the other; and one of them was such, that their own authors† tell us it must be “very favourably interpreted, or it will lead us into a worse error than that which it condemned.” 6. Were they never so infallible, yet they none of them defined transubstantiation, but only a corporeal presence; and so whatever authority they have, it is for the Lutherans, not the Papists. 7. And this

* In the first Formulary prescribed him by P. Nicholas II. in the Synod of Rome, 1059. He thus declares, “Panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum Sacramentum sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem D. N. J. Christi esse; et sensualiter non solum SACRAMENTO, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum, tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri.” The former part of which confession is Lutheran; the latter utterly denied by the Court of Rome at this day. In the second Formulary prescribed him by Gregory VII. 1078. “Confiteor panem et vinum—converti in veram ac propriam carnem et sanguinem J. C. D. N. Et post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi—non tantum per signum et virtutem Sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturæ, et veritate substantiæ.” This speaks of a conversion, but of what kind it says not; and Lombard and the other Schoolmen, to the very time of the Council of Lateran, were not agreed about it: and P. Gregory himself in his MS. work upon St. Matth. knew not what to think of it.

† Jo. Semeca ad Can. Ego Berengar. not. ad Jus Canon. “Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incides Hæresim quam ipse habuit; et ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas; nam de Christi corpore partes non facimus.” So Hervæus in 4. dist. qu. 1. art. 1. says, “that to speak the more expressly against the heretics, he declined a little too much to the opposite side.” So Ricardus de Media Villa in 4. dist. princip. 1. qu. 1. Berengarius fuerat infamatus, quod non credebat corpus Christi realiter contineri sub pane, ideo ad sui purgationem, per verba excessiva contrarium asseruit.

their own writers seem to own ; forasmuch as none of them pretend to any definition of transubstantiation before the Council of Lateran ; and till which time they freely confess it was no article of faith.

Such is the Church authority which this discourser would put upon us. But now that I have mentioned the Council of Lateran, as I have before observed,* that it was the same Council which established this error, that also gave power to the Pope to depose princes, and absolve their subjects from their obedience ; so I cannot but remark farther in this place, the zeal of our author in the defence of its authority. It is but a very little while since another of their Church,† Father Walsh, in his letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, did not think that the learned person‡ of our Church, to whom he refers us, had so clearly proved these canons to have been the genuine acts either of the Council,§ or even of the Papist himself, but that a man might still have reason to doubt of both : but indeed, though that Father be of another mould, yet there are still some in the world, and I believe of this author's acquaintance, who like this Council never the worse for such a decision ; but think the third canon as necessary to keep princes in a due obedience to the Church, as the first *de fide Catholice*, to help out the obscurity of the text in favour of transubstantiation.

But he goes on ;|| and upon these premises asks us, “what more reasonable or secure course in matters of religion can a private and truly humble Christian take, than where the sense of a divine revelation is disputed, to submit to that interpretation thereof, which the supremest authority in the Church, that hath heretofore been convened about such matters, hath so often, and always in the same manner decided to him, and so to act according to its injunction ?”

Now, not to say any more as to his expression of the supremest Church authority, which it may be he will interpret not absolutely, but with this reserve, “that hath been convened about such matters ;” I answer for himself, 1. It is a more reasonable and secure course to follow that interpretation which is agreeable to the common sense and reason of mankind, and

* P. 28.

† Lond. 1616, p. 362, &c.

‡ Mr. Dodwel Consid. of present Concernment, sect. 31.

§ Monsieur du Pin utterly denies these Canons to have been the Decrees of the Council. Dissert. 7. c. 3. sect. 4.

|| P. 28, 29. sect. 25.

against which he tells us, not only the authority of a synod, but even a divine revelation is not sufficient to secure us. 2. These synods, as I have shewed, besides that they were particular, were, moreover, parties in the case. And then, 3. It is false to say that they always decided the same, or, that that which they decided is the same which the Church of Rome now holds in this matter. All which our authors* have fully proved, and this discourser therefore ought to have answered.

III. *Ground.* "But now,"† he says, "if these Councils be declined, as not being so ancient as some may expect, *i. e.* not held before some controversy happened in the Church touching the point they decided: they have yet another very rational ground of their belief, and that is, the evident testimony of the more primitive times." It would have been more to the purpose, if he could honestly have said of the most primitive times. But, however, his modesty is the greater now, though his argument be not so strong. As to the point of antiquity, I have already fully discussed it above;‡ and we are but very lately assured by one of their own authors, that antiquity is of our side in this point. For the six or seven Fathers he has mentioned,§ some of them are spurious; others have been|| expressly answered by us; and all of them at large by Monsieur Aubertine, Larrogue, and others. If this does not satisfy him, he may shortly expect a fuller account in our own language;¶ a specimen of which has already been given to the world in earnest of what is suddenly to follow.

IV. *Ground.* His next ground is taken "from the universal doctrine and practice of the later both Eastern and Western Churches till Luther's time, and at present also, excepting his followers." To which I answer; that this ground is not certainly true, and if it were, yet certainly it is nothing to the

* Particularly Blondel, to whom this author refers us, *Eclairciss. de l'Euch. c. 20, &c.* Albertinus de Euch. lib. 3. p. 947.

† P. 29. sect. 26.

‡ Treatise of Transubstantiation, by an Author of the Church of Rome.

§ St. Ambrose de Sacramentis. Euseb. Emissen. de Paschate.

|| Cyril. Hierosol. in the Relation of the Conference at my Lady T., 1676, in a Paper sent my Lady T., p. 50, 51, 52. And for St. Ambrose de Sacr. allowing the book, yet see the explication of what is there said, given by himself, 1. 5. c. 4. See a late Treatise of the Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared, part 1. p. 46, 47.

¶ Transubstantiation no Doctrine of the Primitive Fathers. Cyril's Authority examined, p. 13, 14. Ambrose's, p. 18, 19. Chrysostom's, p. 40. Greg. Nyssen's, p. 48.

purpose. 1. It is not certainly true : indeed, that the latter ages of the Western Churches before Luther, that is, from the time of the Council of Lateran, did profess the belief of transubstantiation is confessed : and that a great part of the Greek Church at this day does the same, since their new College at Rome, and their money and missionaries sent among them have corrupted their faith, I do not deny : but that this was so before Luther is not so certain; and whosoever shall impartially read over the long debate between the late Monsieur Claude and Monsieur Arnaud concerning this matter, will, I believe, confess that this can be no rational ground for their belief. Ludolphus tells us of the Ethiopian Church,* that at this day, it neither believes transubstantiation, nor adores the host : and Tellezius confesses it, because they consecrate with these words,† “This bread is my body.” For the Greeks,‡ the Muscovites, the Armenians, the Nestorians, Maronites, &c., those who please to interest their curiosity in a matter of so little moment as to their faith, may satisfy themselves in the authors, to which I refer them. Though now, 2. To allow the matter of fact to be true, I pray, what force is there at last in this argument : “The Church, both Eastern and Western, in these last ages, have believed transubstantiation ; therefore the Papists have a rational ground to believe it.” That is to say, you Protestants charge us for believing transubstantiation, as men that act contrary to the design of Christ in this holy eucharist ; that have forsaken the tradition of the primitive ages of the Church; that destroy the nature of this holy sacrament, and do violence to the common sense and reason of mankind. Be it so ; yet at least we have this rational ground for our belief, though it should be false, *viz.* that we did all of us peaceably and quietly believe it, till you came with your Scripture, and antiquity, and sense, and reason, to raise doubts and difficulties about it ; nay more, we all of us still do believe it, except those that you have persuaded not to do so. .

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis Amici ?

* Hist. Ethiop. l. 3. c. 5. n. 48.

† Ibid.

‡ De Eccles. Græc. Stat. Hodier. D. Smith, p. 116. Lond. 1678. Claude Reponse, au. 2. Traitte ; liv. 3. c. 8. p. 434, &c. Charenton, 1668. Id. ult. resp. à Quevilly, 1670. lib. 5. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Histoire Critique de la creance et des Coutumes des Nations du Levant.—Voyage du Mont Liban. Remarques, p. 302, 303, &c. Larrogue Hist. de l’Eucharistie, liv. 2. c. 19. p. 781. Edit. Amst. 12^o. Albertinus de Eucharistia, p. 988, 989. fol. Daventriæ, 1654.

V. Ground. Of no greater strength is his last ground for their belief,* *viz.* “That since Luther’s time no small number of Protestants, even all the genuine sons of the Church of England, have proceeded thus far, as to confess a real presence of our Lord’s body and blood in the eucharist, and adoration of it, as present there.” For, 1. If we did acknowledge this, yet it seems we are mistaken in it; and then what grounds can it be for a Papist to believe transubstantiation, that we heretics by a mistake do not believe it, but only a real spiritual presence, and as such are anathematized by them for our error? 2. I have before shewn, that were this a rational ground, yet it fails them too; for neither do the genuine sons of the Church of England, nor any other that I know of, either believe Christ’s natural body to be substantially present in the holy eucharist, or to be adored there. I am sure if there be any such, they cannot be the genuine sons of the Church of England in this matter, who believe so expressly contrary to her former declaration, as this author has himself observed.

And then for the Lutherans,† to whom he again returns; it is hard to conceive what rational ground of security they can derive from their practice; that because they commit no idolatry in worshipping what they know certainly to be Christ, the Papist commits none for worshipping what he does not know certainly is Christ; in truth what, if he pleased, he might know certainly is not Christ.

And now, after a serious and impartial consideration of the grounds produced in vindication of this worship, though I could have wished I might have found them as rational as our author pretends them to be, and shall be glad, as they are, that they may hereafter prove sufficient to excuse them from the guilt of formal idolatry in this adoration; yet I must needs say, I do in my conscience think it is more “an excess of charity,‡ than any necessity of argument, if our writers do sometimes, either not at all, or but faintly, charge them with idolatry.” And the testimonies he produces, argue rather the candour of our affections towards them, even such as to hope almost against hope for their sakes, than give any security to them in their errors. And because I would willingly, if possible, convince them of it, I will very briefly subjoin a reason or two.

2ndly, Why even upon their own principles I am not satis-

* P. 31. sect. 28.

Ibid. p. 32.

‡ P. 33. sect. 30.

fied that they have such a rational ground for this adoration, as may be sufficient to excuse them.

For, 1st, it is granted by this author,* “ That a merely good intention grounded upon a culpable ignorance, cannot excuse them from idolatry.” So that if their ignorance then be really culpable, their good intention will not be sufficient to excuse them. Now the ignorance upon which this practice is founded, is their mistaken interpretation of those words, “ This is my body ;” and whether that be a rational or culpable mistake, we shall best be able to judge by two or three observations.

1. It is confessed by the greatest men of their Church, that there is no necessity to interpret those words in that manner that they do ; so that had not the authority of their Church interposed, they might have been equally verified in our interpretation. And this must be allowed, unless we shall say, that all places of holy Scripture must be understood in a literal sense, whatever the consequence be of so doing.

2. Our author himself confesses, that if the taking of them in the literal sense does involve a certain contradiction, then it cannot be right ; but we are bound to seek out some other exposition to avoid a certain contradiction.

3. It is undeniable, that their interpretation of these words destroys the certainty of sense, and in that of the truth of the Christian religion, which was confirmed by miracles, known only by the evidence of sense ; and by consequence of this particular point, that transubstantiation is revealed to us by God, or can be relied upon as coming from him.

Now from these principles I thus argue : If that sense of these words, “ This is my body,” upon which they ground their adoration, does necessarily imply many plain and certain contradictions, then by their own confession that cannot be the right sense of them. But that it does so, and that without gross and culpable ignorance they cannot doubt of, but know it, I thus shew : He that believes these words in the sense of transubstantiation, must believe the same natural body, at the same time, to be in ten thousand several places upon earth, and yet still to be but one body, and that all the while in heaven : he must believe that the same natural body is at the same time extended in all its parts, and yet continuing the same body without any change ; to be unextended, and have no distinct parts, nor be capable of being divided into any : he

* P. 26. sect. 22.

must believe the same body at the same time, to move, and to lie still ; to be the object of our senses, and yet not to be perceptible by any : with infinite others of the like kind, as I have more fully shewn before.* But now all these are gross contradictions, contrary to the nature of a body, and to the common principles of reason in all mankind ; and no man can, without culpable ignorance, pretend not to know them to be so : and therefore, notwithstanding any such supposed divine revelation as may be pretended from those words, “This is my body,” they cannot, by our author’s own rule, without culpable ignorance, not know that they are mistaken in this matter.

Again : no Papist can have any reason to believe transubstantiation to be true, but because he reads those words of holy Scripture, “This is my body.” That these words are in Scripture, he can know only by his senses : if his senses therefore are not to be trusted, he is not sure there are any such words in Scripture. If they are not to be trusted, he is then sure that the interpretation which he puts upon them must be false.

Since then it is confessed, that there is no necessity to understand those words in a literal sense ; and that both upon the account of the contradictions that such an exposition involves to the common principles of reason, and to the certain evidences of the senses of all mankind, it is necessary to take them in some other meaning ; it remains without gross and culpable ignorance they cannot pretend not to know, that this could never have been the intention of our blessed Saviour in those words ; and that such ignorance will not excuse them, our author himself has freely confessed.

But, 2ndly, let us quit this reflection, and for once suppose the possibility of transubstantiation. Yet still it is confessed by them : 1. That there is no command nor example in holy Scripture for adoring Christ in the eucharist. 2. That infinite defects may happen to hinder him from being there ; and then what they worship is only a piece of bread. 3. That they can never be sure that some of these defects have not happened ; and by consequence, that what they suppose to be Christ’s body, is indeed any more than a mere wafer.

From whence I argue :

He that without any command or warrant of God, pays a divine adoration to that which he can never be sure is more than a mere creature, can never be sure that he does not com-

* See above, ch. 2. of Transubstantiation, p. 32, 33.

mit idolatry : but whosoever worships the host, worships that which he can never be sure is more than a mere creature ; and therefore he can never be sure that in so doing he does not commit idolatry.

Now concerning the former of these, how dangerous it is for any one to give divine worship to what he can never be sure is any more than a mere creature, be it considered, what jealousy God has at all times expressed of his honour as to this matter ; how strict he has been in the peculiar vindication of his supreme prerogative in such cases. How therefore he that will come to him, must be very well assured that it is God to whom he approaches ; and therefore if he has but the least reason to doubt of it, ought not to worship with a doubting mind ; because he ought not to do that, the omitting whereof can be no fault, but the doing of which may, for ought he knows, be a very great sin.

And for the second : Whether every Roman Catholic, who adores the host, has not even upon his own principles, very great cause to doubt, whether he adores Christ's body, or only a bit of bread, will appear from those infinite defects which they themselves allow as sufficient to hinder a consecration ; and which make it great odds, were their doctrine otherwise never so true, whether yet one host in twenty, it may be in five hundred, be consecrated.

1. With reference to the holy elements to be consecrated : if the bread be not all, or at least the greater part, of wheat-flour ;* if it be not mixed with pure water ; if the bread be corrupted, or the wine sour ; if the grapes of which the wine was made were not ripe ; if any thing be mingled with the wine but water ; or if there be so much water mixed with it, that that becomes the prevailing ingredient ; in all these cases, and many others which I omit, there is no consecration. And of all this, he who adores either the bread or wine, can have no security. But,

2. Be the elements right, yet if the priest, being either ignorant, or in haste, or unmindful of what he is about, should by mistake, or otherwise, err in pronouncing of the words of consecration ; whether by addition, or by diminution, or by any other alteration, there is no consecration : the bread and wine continue what they were ; and of this too he that worships them can never be certain.

* See all this in the beginning of the Missal, *de Defectibus circa Missam*.

3. Let the words be never so rightly pronounced, yet if the priest had no intention to consecrate ; if he be a secret Atheist, or Jew, or Moor; if he be a careless negligent man ; it may be does not believe he has any power to make such a change (as I have shewn that several of their greatest men in this very age have doubted of it) ; if he consecrate a number of wafers for a communion, and in his telling mistakes, intending to consecrate but twenty, and there are one and twenty before him ; in all these cases, for want of a due intention in the priest, there is no consecration ; but that which is adored, is only a little bread and wine.

4. Let the priest have a good intention,* yet if he be no priest ; if he were not rightly baptized, or ordained ; if he were a Simoniac, or irregular, or a bastard, &c. or if there were no defect in his ordination, yet if there were any in his who ordained him ; or in the bishop's that ordained that bishop that ordained him, and so back to the very time of the Apostles ; if in the whole succession of priests to this day, there has been but any one invalidity, whether by error or wilfulness, or for want of a due intention, or by ignorance, or by any other means ; then he that consecrates is no true priest, and by consequence has no power to consecrate ; and so all is spoiled, and whosoever worships in any of his masses, adores only a piece of bread instead of our Saviour's body.

When therefore so many defects may interpose upon their own principles to hinder this conversion, that it is exceeding probable, nay, it is really great odds, that not one host in twenty is consecrated ; it must certainly be very hazardous to worship that for God, which upon their own principles they can never be sure is so ; nay, which it is twenty to one is not God, but a mere inanimate creature of bread and wine.

It is this has forced their most learned men to confess,† that they can never be sure of a consecration ; and our author himself to declare,‡ “That they do not worship the substance that is under the accidents of bread and wine, *whatever it be*, but *upon supposition* that it is *Christ's body* ;” which is what Pope Adrian VI.,§ following herein the authority of the Council of Constance, prescribed ; that they ought always to adore the host with such a reserve :|| “The Council of Constance,” says he, “excuses those who in their simplicity adore an unconsecrated host, because this condition is tacitly applied, if it be

* See above in the Preface.

† See Bellarm. de Justif. c. 8.

‡ P. 23.

§ Adr. VI. quodlibet. sect. 10. Suppos. 2.

|| See Gerson, Tract. de Exam. Doctr. consid. 6.

rightly consecrated :" and therefore he advises, " Let them so adore the host, *I adore thee if thou art Christ.*" But now if, as the Apostle tells us in another case, " whatsoever is not of faith is sin ;" and, " he that doubts, is damned if he eats :" I shall leave it to any sober Christian to say what security there can be in such a worship, which is neither advised, encouraged, or commanded in holy Scripture, and which they themselves confess they can never be certain is addressed to a right object ; and therefore are forced to such shifts and reserves, as were they once admitted, might make any other creature in the world as warrantably adorable as their host.

How much better were it for them to adore their blessed Saviour in heaven, where his glorified body most certainly is : where there can therefore be no danger to lift up our hearts unto him. Were his sacred body indeed substantially present in this blessed sacrament, yet still it would be in a manner to us imperceptible, in the state of his death, and by consequence of his humiliation ; and we might therefore have some cause to doubt whether, since we have received no command concerning it, it were our Saviour's pleasure that his body should be adored by us in that state : so that there could be no sin in the not doing it. But now, amidst so many doubts, not only upon ours, but even upon their own principles, that they dare not themselves worship at a venture that which yet they do worship ; though I shall leave them to their own Master to stand or fall at the great day, yet I must needs profess I think there is very much hazard in it. A great sincerity, and great ignorance, may excuse a poor untaught, and therefore blindly obedient multitude ; but for their guides, who lead them into error, for those to whom God has given capacities and opportunities (as to those now among us he has done) of being better informed, I can only say, " Lord, lay not this sin to their charge !"

And this may suffice to have been said to the third thing proposed, of their rational grounds for this worship :* for what our author finally adds ; " That to adore that which the adorer believes not to be our Lord, but bread, would be unlawful to be done by any, so long as the person continues so persuaded.—But then if we suppose the Church justly requiring such adoration upon such a true presence of our Lord, neither will the same person be free from sinning greatly in his following such his conscience, and in his not adoring."

I answer : It will then be time enough to consider this, when either the Church, to which we owe an obedience, shall require it of us, or they be able to prove that in such a case the Church would not sin in commanding, and not we in refusing to obey her. But, blessed be God, there is no great danger of either of these : our Church is too well persuaded of the unlawfulness of such a worship, ever to require it of us. And for that Church which has so uncharitably undertaken to anathematize all those who will not own her authority, and receive her errors, though never so gross, as articles of faith; we are so fully convinced of the unreasonableness of her pretences, and of our own liberty, that we shall hardly be brought to submit ourselves to the conduct of such a blind guide, lest we fall into the same ditch into which she herself is tumbled. And it would certainly much better become our author, and his brethren, to consider how they can justify their disobedience to their own mother, than to endeavour at this rate to lead us into the same apostasy, both as to our religion and our Church, with them.

CONCLUSION.

AND thus, by the blessing of God, and the advantages of a good cause, have I very briefly passed through this author's reflections, and I am persuaded, sufficiently shewn the weakness and falsity of the most of them. If any one shall think that I ought to have insisted more largely upon some points, he may please to know, that since by the importunate provocations of those of the other communion, we have been forced too often to interrupt those duties of our ministry, in which we could rather have wished to have employed our time, for these kind of controversies which serve so very little to any purposes, either of true piety, or true charity among us : we have resolved thus far at least to gratify both ourselves and others, as to make our disputes as short as is possible ; and lose no more time in them, than the necessary defence of ourselves and the truth doth require.

I have indeed passed by much of our author's discourses, because they are almost entirely made up of tedious and endless repetitions of the same things, and very often in the same words. But for any thing that is argumentative, or otherwise material to the main cause, I do not know that I

have either let the observation of it slip, or dissembled at all the force of it.

It was once in my thoughts to have made some reflections in the close upon the changes of their Rituals, in requital for our author's observations on the alterations of our Liturgy ; but I have insisted longer than I designed already, and shall therefore content myself to have given the hint of what might have been done, and shall still be done, if our author, or any in his behalf desire it of me.

In the mean time I cannot but observe the unreasonableness of that method which is here taken ; from the expressions of some of our divines, and the concessions of others, whose professed business it was to reconcile, if possible, all parties, and therefore were forced sometimes to condescend more than was fit for the doing it ; and even these too miserably mangled and misrepresented to pretend to prove the doctrine of our Church contrary to the express declarations of the public acts and records of it. This has been the endeavour of several of our late writers, but of this discourser above any. Had those worthy persons, whose memory they thus abuse, been yet living, they might have had an ample confutation from their own pens ; as, in the very instance before us, has been given them for the like ill use made by some among them of the pious meditations of a most excellent and learned father of our Church ; and who might otherwise, in the next age, have been improved into a new witness against us.

I do not think that Bishop Taylor ever thought he should have been set up as a favourer of Popery, who had written so expressly and warmly against it. Yet I cannot but observe a kind of prophetic expression in his book of the Real Presence, which being so often quoted by these men, I somewhat wonder it should have slipped their remark : where, speaking of their shifts to make any one they please of their side, he has these words :* “ And—I know no reason,” says he, “ but it may be possible that a WITTY MAN may pretend, when I am dead, that in this discourse I have pleaded for the doctrine of the Roman Church.”

We have now lived to see some of those WITTY MEN that have done but little less than this ; though how honest they are in the mean time I will not determine. But I hope this design too shall be from henceforth in good measure frustrated : and,

* Real Presence, sect. 12. n. 28. p. 261.

therefore, since neither their new religion, nor their new advocates will do their business ; since it is in vain that they either misrepresent their own doctrine, or our author's in favour of it ; may they once please either honestly to avow and defend their faith, or honestly to confess that they cannot do it. Such shuffling as this does but more convince us of the weakness of their cause ; and instead of defending their religion by these practices, they only increase in us our ill opinion of that, and lessen that good one which we willingly would, but shall not always be able to conserve of those who, by such indirect means as these, endeavour to support it.

BOOK V.

THE POPISH DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS

CONFUTED

AS TO THE ADORATION OF THE HOST.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE ADORATION OF THE HOST,

AS IT IS TAUGHT AND PRACTISED IN THE CHURCH OF ROME;

WHEREIN

An Answer is given to T. G. on that subject, and to Monsieur Boileau's late book De Adoratione Eucharistiae. Paris, 1685.

IDOLATRY is so great a blot in any Church, whatever other glorious marks it may pretend to, that it is not to be wondered that the Church of Rome is very angry to be charged with it, as it has always been by all the Reformed; who have given this among many others, as a just and necessary reason of their Reformation, and it must be confessed to be so, if it be fully and clearly made good against it; and if it be not, it must be owned to be great uncharitableness on the other side, which is no good note of a Church neither; a grievous slander and most uncharitable calumny, which will fall especially upon all the clergy of the Church of England, who, by their consent and subscription to its Articles, and to the doctrine of its Homilies, and to the book of Common Prayer, do expressly join in it. For it is not the private opinion only of some particular and forward men in their zeal and heat against Popery, thus to accuse it of idolatry; but it is the deliberate, and sober, and downright charge of the Church of England, of which no honest man can be a member, and a minister, who does not make and believe it. I might give several instances to shew this; but shall only mention one, wherein I have undertaken to defend our Church in its charge of idolatry upon the Papists in their Adoration of the Host, which is in its declaration about

kneeling at the sacrament, after the office of the communion, in which are these remarkable words : “ It is hereby declared, that no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporeal presence of Christ’s natural flesh and blood ; for the sacramental bread and wine remain still in their natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.” Here it most plainly declares its mind against that which is the ground and foundation of their worshipping the host, that the elements do not remain in their natural substances after consecration ; if they do remain, as we and all Protestants hold, even the Lutherans, then in worshipping the consecrated elements, they worship mere creatures and are by their own confession guilty of idolatry, as I shall shew by and by ; and if Christ’s natural flesh and blood be not corporeally present there, neither with the substance, nor signs of the elements, then the adoring what is there, must be the adoring of some things else than Christ’s body ; and if bread only be there, and they adore that which is there, they must surely adore the bread itself, in the opinion of our Church ; but I shall afterwards state the controversy more exactly between us. Our Church has here taken notice of the true issue of it, and declared that to be false, and that it is both unfit and idolatrous too, to worship the elements upon any account after consecration ; and it continued of the same mind, and expressed it as particularly and directly in the Canons of 1640, where it says,* “ That for the cause of the idolatry committed in the mass, all Popish altars were demolished ;” so that none can more fully charge them with idolatry in this point, than our Church has done.

It recommends at the same time, but with temper and moderation, the religious gesture of bowing towards the altar, both before and out of the time of celebration of the holy eucharist, and in it, and in neither,† upon any opinion of a corporeal presence of Christ on the holy table, or in the mystical elements ; but only to give outward and bodily, as well as inward worship to the Divine Majesty ; and it commands all persons to receive the sacrament kneeling,‡ in a posture of adoration, as the Primitive Church used to do, with

* Canon 7, 1640, about placing the Communion Table, under this head, A Declaration about some Rites and Ceremonies.

† Ib. Can. 7, 1640.

‡ Rubric at Communion.

the greatest expression of reverence and humility, $\tauρόπω$ $\piροσκυνήσεως$ καὶ σεβάσματος, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks,* and as I shall shew, is the meaning of the greatest authorities they produce out of the ancients for adoration not to, but at the sacrament; so far are we from any unbecoming or irreverent usage of that mystery, as Bellarmine,† when he is angry with those who will not worship it, tells them out of Optatus, that the Donatists gave it to dogs; and out of Victor Uticensis, that the Arians trod it under their feet; that we should abhor any such disrespect shewn to the sacred symbols of our Saviour's body, as is used by them, in throwing it into the flames to quench a fire, or into the air or water to stop a tempest or inundation, or keep themselves from drowning, or any the like mischief (to prevent which, they will throw away even the God they worship), or the putting it to any the like indecent superstitions. It is out of the great honour and respect that we bear to the sacrament, that we are against the carrying it up and down as a show, and the exposing and prostituting it to so shameful an abuse, and so gross an idolatry. We give very great respect and reverence to all things that relate to God, and are set apart to his worship and service; to the temple where God is said himself to dwell, and to be more immediately present; to the altar whereon the mysteries of Christ's body and blood are solemnly celebrated; to the holy vessels that are always used in those administrations; to the Holy Bible, which is the word of God, and the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as the Sacrament is his body, and the New Testament in his blood; to the font, which is the laver of regeneration, wherein we put on Christ, as well as we eat him in the eucharist; and if we would strain things, and pick out of the ancient and devout Christians what is said of all these, it would go as far, and look as like to adoring them, as what with all their care they collect and produce for adoring the sacrament, as I shall afterwards make appear, in answer to what the latest defender‡ of the adoration of the eucharist, has culled, or rather raked together out of the Fathers.

It seems from that declaration of our Church, that some were either so silly, or so spiteful, as to suppose that by our kneeling at the sacrament, we gave worship to the elements;

* Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. Mystag. 5. [p. 332. Venet. 1763.]

† Controv. de Eucharist.

‡ Jacob. Boileau Paris. De Adoratione Eucharistiae. Paris. 1685.

and that learned man is willing to have it believed, that we do thereby, *externe eucharistiam colere*,* outwardly worship the sacrament, and he blames us for not doing it inwardly in our minds, as well as outwardly with our bodies ; so willing are these men to join with our wildest Dissenters in their unreason-able charges against our Church, and use any crutches that may help their own weak cause, or be made use of to strike at us ; but it may as well be said, that the Dissenters worship their cushions, or their seats, when they kneel before them ; the roof of the church, or the crowns of their hats, when they fix their eyes upon them, at the same time they are at prayers upon their knees ; or that the Papists worship the priest himself, before whom they kneel in their confession ; or that on Ash-Wednesday they adore the holy ashes as they call them, and on Palm-Sunday the holy boughs, which they do not pretend to do, because they kneel when they are given them ; as well as that we worship the eucharist, or the mystical elements, when we receive them kneeling, and disavow any such thing, and declare it to be “ idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.”

But is it idolatry to worship Christ ? Or to worship the body of Christ, though not for itself, yet for the sake of the Divine nature, to which it is always hypostatically united ? No, by no means ; I know no heretics, though they denied Christ’s divinity, but yet were for worshipping him ; the old Arians, and the late Socinians ; but how justifiably, when they believe him but a mere man, or only a more excellent creature ; they and the Church of Rome are both concerned to defend, and to clear it, if they can, of idolatry. As to the worship of the flesh, though Nestorius could not do this according to his principles, as St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus argue against him ; nor could the Ebionites, nor *δοκηται* of old ; yet I know none but some of their Schoolmen dispute now of adoring the flesh or human nature of Christ, which however it be in our minds, is never in truth abstracted from his divinity. But we will not at all trouble ourselves with those parts of the science of controversy, nor shall we stand upon any of those things. Well then, why may not Christ and his body be adored in the sacrament, if they are proper objects of adoration ? No doubt but they may be adored in this sacrament, in the sacrament of baptism too, and in all the offices of the Christian religion, wherein we pray to Christ, and kneel before

* Boil. [ibid.] p. 145.

him, and exercise the devout acts of the mind toward him, put our trust and hope in him, and expect salvation from him, and devote ourselves in all subjection to him, and bow both our souls and our bodies, and give all both internal and external worship to him ; this adoration we give to Christ, who is God blessed for ever, and who sits at the right hand of God the Father. And the very same the Papists give to the sacrament, to the host, and the consecrated elements, the most sovereign, and absolute, and highest degree of religious worship that is due to God, whose creatures those elements are ; or to Christ himself, who commanded us to receive them in remembrance of him. "But it is only Christ," say they, "whom we worship in the sacrament, whom we adore as being present there with his body in the host, and not the host or the sacrament itself ;" so a great many of them would fain bring off the matter, or at least colour and disguise it ; Bellarmine,* when he had entangled himself with the distinctions of worshipping the sacrament, whether formally or materially ; would extricate himself, by thus stating the matter, and reducing it to this question, "Whether Christ be to be adored in the eucharist ?" And St. Clara† would reconcile the dispute with this observation, "Nota bene : Mark this, the Council of Trent does not say, that the sacrament is to be adored, but Christ in the sacrament." I wonder so great a man as Cassander‡ should say, unless with a design to condemn the thing, "that the adoration is not to be given to the outward sign which is seen ; but is to be referred to the thing itself, and to that which is truly and inwardly believed." But reconcilers, who will attempt the vain project of accommodation, must do with the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as Apelles did with Antigonus's face, they must draw but one part, but half of it, that so they may artificially conceal its deformed and its blind side. That all these do so, I shall shew by stating the controversy carefully and truly, which is the chiefest thing in this dispute ; for they love to hide their own doctrines as much as they can ; and

* Lib. 4. de Eucharist, c. 29. *Quicquid sit de modo loquendi, status quæstionis non est, nisi an Christus in Eucharistia sit adorandus cultu latræ* [vol. 3. p. 408. col. 1. Prag. 1721.]

† St. Clara Deus, Natura, Gratia, p. 308. *Nota bene, non dicit Concilium Tridentinum, Sacramentum, sed Christum in Sacramento, latræ adorandum.*

‡ *Adoratio non ad exterius signum quod exterius videtur, sed ad ipsam rem et veritatem quæ interius creditur, referenda, Cassand. Consult. de Adorat. Euchar. [Oper. p. 984. Par. 1616.]*

they cunningly contrive most of them with a back-door, to slip out at privately, and upon occasion. The Council of Trent has in this, as in other things, used art, and not spoke out in one place, as it does in another; and that so we may mistake half its words for its full meaning, as Bellarmine and others were willing to do, or at least to have others do so. In its sixth canon on the eucharist, it only says,* "If any one shall say, that Christ the only begotten Son of God is not to be adored with the external worship of *latrīa*, in the holy sacrament of the eucharist, let him be accursed." Who will not say in those general words, that Christ is to be adored with outward and inward worship both, not only in the holy sacrament of the eucharist, but of baptism too, and in every Christian office, and in every prayer, and solemn invocation of him, either public or private? But they mean a great deal more than all this, by worshipping Christ in the sacrament, and in as plain words they say,† that the sacrament itself is to be adored; that, whatever it be, which is something besides Christ, even according to them, which is placed in the patin, and upon the altar, which the priest holds in his hands, and lifts up to be seen, this very thing is to be adored: "There is no doubt," says the Council,‡ "but that all faithful Christians, according to the custom always received in the catholic Church, ought to give supreme and sovereign worship, which is due to God himself, to the most holy sacrament in the worship of it; for it is nevertheless to be adored, though it was instituted of Christ to be received." That which is to be received, which is to be put into the people's mouths by the priest (for since they have made a God of the sacrament, they will not trust the people to feed themselves with it, nor take it into their hands; and they may with as much reason, in time, not think fit that they should eat it), this which was appointed of Christ to be taken and eaten as a sacrament; this is now to serve for another use, to be adored as a God; and it would be as true heresy in the Church of Rome, not to say, that the sacrament of the altar is to be adored, as not to say, that Christ himself is to

* Concil. Trident. Can. 6. De Euchar. Si quis dixerit in sancto Eucharistiae Sacramento Christum Unigenitum Dei filium non esse cultu latrīa etiam externo adorandum, anathema sit. [p. 100. Mechlin. 1826.]

† Ib. 13. Sess. c. 5. [Ibid. p. 94.]

‡ Ib. Nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur quin omnes Christi fideles pro more in Catholica Ecclesia semper recepto, latrīa cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo Sacramento in veneratione adhibeant; neque enim minus est adorandum, quod fuerit a Christo Domino, ut sumatur, institutum.

be adored. But what, according to them, is this sacrament? It is the remaining species of bread and wine, and the natural body and blood of Christ, invisibly, yet carnally present under them: and these together make up one entire object of their adoration, which they call *sacramentum*; for Christ's body without those species, and accidents at least of bread and wine, would not, according to them, be a sacrament; they being the outward and visible part, are, according to their Schoolmen,* properly and strictly called the *sacramentum*, and the other the *res sacramenti*; and to this external part of the sacrament, as well as to the internal, they give λατρεία and adoration; to these remaining species, which be they what they will, are but creatures, religious worship is given together with Christ's body, and they with that, are the whole formal object of their adoration. *Non solum Christum sed totum visibile sacramentum unico cultu adorari*, says Suarez,† *quia est unum constans ex Christo et speciebus*; "not only Christ, but the whole visible sacrament (which must be something besides Christ's invisible body) is to be adored with one and the same worship, because it is one thing (or one object) consisting of Christ and the species." So another of their learned men,‡ *Speciebus eucharistiae datur latria propter Christum quem continent*; "the highest worship is given to the species of the eucharist, because of Christ, whom they contain." Now Christ, whom they contain, must be something else than the species that contain him. Let him be present never so truly and substantially in the sacrament, or under the species, he cannot be said to be the same thing with that in which he is said to be present; and as subtle as they are, and as thin and subtile as these species are, they can never get off from idolatry upon their own principles in their worshipping of them; and they can never be left out, but must be part of the whole which is to be adored, *totum illud quod simul adoratur*, as Bellarmine calls it,§ must include these as well as Christ's body. *Adorationem*, says Bellarmine,|| *ad symbola etiam panis et vini pertinere, ut quod unum cum ipso Christo quem continent*, "Adoration belongs even to the symbols of bread and wine, as they are apprehended to be one with Christ whom they contain;" and so make up one entire object of worship with

* Lombard. Sent. 1. 4. dist. 10. [fol 345. p. 2. Colon. Agr. 1566.]

† In Th. Quæst. 79. disp. [65. sect. 1. vol. 18. p. 670. col. 1. Venet. 1747.]

‡ Henriquez. Moral. 1. 8. c. 32. [vol. 1. p. 468. col. 2. Venet. 1600.]

§ De Euch. 1. 4. c. 30. [ut supra, p. 408. col. 2.]

|| Bellarmine de Euch. 1. 4. c. 29. [Ibid. p. 407. col. 2.]

him, and may be worshipped together with Christ, as T. G.* owns in his answer to his most learned adversary ; and are the very term of adoration, as Gregory de Valentia says,† who further adds, that they who think this worship does not at all belong to the species, in that heretically oppose the perpetual custom and sense of the Church.‡

Indeed they say, That these species or accidents are not to be worshipped for themselves, or upon their own account, but because Christ is present in them, and under them ; and so they may be worshipped, as T. G. says,§ “with Christ in like manner as his garments were worshipped together with him upon earth ;” which is a similitude taken out of Bellarmine, the magazine not only of arguments and authorities, but of similitudes too, it seems, which are to defend that Church, *Quemadmodum*,|| says he, *qui Christum in terris vestitum adorabant, non ipsum solum sed etiam vestes quodam modo adorabant*. And are Christ’s garments then to worshipped with *latria*, as well as Christ himself, or as the sacrament? I think they will not say this of any of the relics they have of Christ, or his clothes. Did they who worshipped Christ when he was upon the earth, worship his clothes too? Did the wise men worship the blankets, the clouts, and the swaddling-clothes, as well as the blessed Babe lying in the manger? Might it not as well be supposed that the people worshipped the ass upon which Christ rode; not for himself, but for the sake, and upon the account of Christ who was upon him, as that they worshipped his clothes, or his sandals on which he trod, or the garments which he wore? Bellarmine’s *quodammodo adorabant* shews his heart misgave him, and that he was sensible the similitude would not do when he used it; but T. G. is a man of more heart and courage, or front at least, and he found the cause was in great need of it, and so he says boldly, without any trembling *quodammodo*, that they worshipped his garments.

The human nature itself of Christ, considered alone, and being a mere creature, is not an object of worship, as St. Augustine says,¶ but only as it is hypostatically united to the

* Cathol. no Idolaters, p. 268.

- † De Idol. l. 2. c. 5. [De Rebus Fid. Contr. sect. 5. p. 33. col. 2. Lut. Par. 1610.]

‡ Qui censem nullo modo ad species ipsas eam venerationem pertinere, in eo hæretice pugnare contra perpetuum usum et sensum Ecclesiæ. De Veneratione Sacram. ad Artic. tom. [D. Thom.] 5. [Commentar. Theol. vol. 4. p. 1362. Lut. Par. 1609.] § Ibid.

|| De Euch. Venerat. [ut supra, p. 407. col. 2.]

¶ St. Aug. Serm. 58. De Verbis Dom. Si natura Deus non est filius sed

divine nature, *i. e.* so intimately and vitally united to it, as to make one person with it, with God himself, one Θεάνθρωπος, and so one object of worship ; and if the sacramental symbols or species are to be adored with true *latria*, not *per se*, or upon their own account, but by reason of the intimate union and conjunction which they have with Christ, as they say, not only with Christ's body, for that alone is not to be worshipped, much less another thing that is united to it ; but with Christ's Person, and then there must be as many persons of Christ, as there are consecrated wafers ; then these species being thus worshipped upon the same account that Christ's humanity is, as Gregory de Valentia owns they must, ("This worship," says he, "belongs after a certain manner to the species, as when the divine λόγος is worshipped in the humanity which he assumed, the divine worship belongs also to the created humanity.") *Pertinet per accidens suo quodam modo ea veneratio ad species, quemadmodum suo modo, etiam hoc ipso quod adoratur Divinum verbum in humanitate assumpta, pertinet ejusmodi Divinus cultus ad illam humanitatem creatam secundario, neque in hoc est aliqua idololatria*), must be also united to Christ,* the same way that his humanity is united to his divinity, so as to become with that one entire object of worship, as the species are, according to them, with Christ in the eucharist ; that is, they must become one *suppositum*, or one person with Christ. This is so weighty a difficulty, as makes the greatest Atlases of the Roman Church not only sweat, but sink under it. Valentia† owns the wonderful conjunction the species have with Christ, but denies their being hypostatically united to him ; but then, how are they to be worshipped ? Since it is owned by him and the Schoolmen that the very humanity of Christ is to be worshipped only upon the account of its hypostatical union ; and though God be very nearly and intimately present in other creatures, yet they are not to be worshipped, notwithstanding that presence, because they do not make one *suppositum* or *hypostasis* with him, or are not hypostatically united to him. Bellarmine being pinched on

creatura, nec colendus est omnino nec ut Deus adorandus. Ego Dominica carnem, imo perfectam in Christo humanitatem propterea adoro, quod a divinitate suscepta, atque Deitati unita est,—Denique si hominem separaveris a Deo, ut Photinus, vel Paulus Samosatenus, illi ego nunquam credo nec servio. [vol. 5. p. 2988. Par. 1838.]

* Valentia, Disput. 6. Quæst. 11. de Ritu et Oblat. Eucharist. [Commentar. Theolog. ut supra, p. 1362.]

† De Idol. 1. 2. c. 5. [De Reb. Fid. Contr. sect. 5. p. 34. Lut. 1610.]

this side, removes the burden to the other, that is as sore, and can as little bear it ; "Christ," says he, "is much otherwise in the eucharist, than God is in other things ; for in the eucharist, there is but only one *suppositum*, and that divine ; all other things there present belong to, and make one thing with that."* If they do so, then sure they are hypostatically united with Christ, as T. G.'s learned adversary charges upon Bellarmine from this place ; if they make one *suppositum* with him, and but one with him, let it be in what manner it will, they must be hypostatically united to him. Bellarmine's *Licet non eodem modo*, though not after the same manner, is both unintelligible, and will not at all help the matter ; it is only a confession from him, that at the same time that he says they are hypostatically united to Christ, and make one *suppositum* with him, and one object of worship, that he does not know how this can be, and that his thoughts are in a great strait about it, so that he doubts they are not hypostatically united at the same time that he yet says they are so ; for this is no way imposed upon him, as T. G. says, notwithstanding his *non eodem modo*. If in the incarnation of Christ, one should say, that the soul and body of Christ are both united to his divinity, but that both were not united after the same manner ; but the soul in such a manner, as being a spirit, and the body in another ; yet so, that both made but one *suppositum* with it, and that divine ; and that all his human nature belonged to that, and made one with that, though not after the same manner ; would not this be still an owning the hypostatical union between Christ's divinity, and his soul and body ? and so must the other be between Christ's divinity, and his body, and the species ; if they make one *suppositum*, and are, as they old, to be worshipped as such.

Thus I have taken care to give you their doctrine, and state the case with some exactness ; though I am sensible, with too much length ; but that is the way to shorten the controversy ; and by this means I have cut off their common retreats, and stopped up those little lurking holes they generally run to, and in which they are wont to earth themselves. As, that they worship only Christ in the sacrament, or Christ under the accidents of bread and wine ; and that it is only Christ, or the body of Christ with which his divinity is always present, is

* Longe aliter est Christus in Eucharistia, et in aliis rebus Deus ; Nam in Eucharistia unum tantum suppositum est, idque Divinum, cæteraque omnia ad illud pertinent, et cum illo unum quid faciunt, licet non eodem modo. Bellar. de Euch. l. 4. c. 30.

the formal object of their adoration in the sacrament, and that their worship is given to that, and not to the consecrated elements, or to the remaining species of bread and wine ; it appears from their own doctrine and principles to be quite otherwise ; and if we take them at their own words, they are sufficient to bear witness against them, and condemn them of idolatry ; but this will be found to be much greater and grosser, when the whole foundation of this doctrine of theirs of the worship of the host proves upon examination to be false, and one of the most thick unreasonable errors in the world, to wit, the belief of transubstantiation, or that the bread and wine in the sacrament are converted into the natural and substantial body and blood of Christ, so that there remains nothing of the substance of the bread and wine after consecration, but only the flesh and blood of Christ corporeally present, under the species and accidents of bread and wine. If this doctrine be true, it will in great measure discharge them from the guilt of idolatry ; for then their only fault will be their joining the species (which how thin and ghostly soever they be, yet are creatures), together with Christ, as one object of worship ; and unless they alter their doctrine on this point from what it is now, I see not how they can justify their worshipping with $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, or the worship due only to God, not only the adorable substance of Christ's body, but the very veils and symbols under which they suppose that to lie ; and yet when they teach, as they do, the adoring of the sacrament, they must adore the visible and outward part of it, as well as the invisible body of Christ ; for without the remaining species, it would not, according to them, be a sacrament ; and they have not gone so far yet, I think, as to deny that there are any remaining species, and that our senses do so far wholly deceive us, that when we see something there is really nothing of a visible object. And the same object which is visible is adorable too, according to them. If Christ's body were substantially present in the sacrament, though it were lawful to adore it as there present, but by no means either the substance or species of bread with it, yet it is much to be doubted whether it were a duty or necessary to do so. It would be present so like a prince *incognito*, that he would seem not to require that honour which we ought to give him under a more public appearance. God we know is present in all his creatures, but yet we are not to worship him as present in any of them, unless he makes a sensible manifestation of himself and appears by his Shechinah, or his glory, as to Moses in the

burning bush, and to others in like manner: and it would be very strange to make the bread in the eucharist a Shechinah of God, which appears, without any alteration, just as it was before it was made such; and especially to make it such a continuing Shechinah as the Papists do, that Christ is present in it, not only in the action and solemn celebration, but *extra usum*, as they speak, and *permanenter*, even after the whole solemnity and use is over; that he should continue there, as a *præsens numen*, as Boileau expressly calls it,* and be shewed and carried about and honoured as such, and dwell in the species as long as they continue as truly as he dwelt in the flesh before that was crucified; this is strange and monstrous even to those who think Christ is present in the sacrament, but not so as the Papists believe, nor so as to be worshipped; I mean the Lutherans. But to bring the matter to a closer issue: the Papists themselves are forced to confess, that if the bread remain after consecration, and be still bread and be not transubstantiated into the body of Christ, that they are then idolaters. So Fisher against *Ecolampadius*, *l. 1. c. 2.* in express words. So Coster† in his *Enchiridion de Euch.* *c. 8.*: “If the body of Christ be not present in the sacrament, then they are left in such an error and idolatry, as was never seen or heard; for that of the heathens would be more tolerable, who worship a golden or silver statue for God, or any other image, or even a red cloth, as the Laplanders are said to do, or living animals, as the Egyptians, than of those who worship a piece of bread.” And again, “Those infidel idolaters would be more excusable who worshipped their statues.” To whom I shall add Bellarmine,‡ who says, “it does not seem strange, that they call the adoration of the sacrament idolatry, who do not believe that Christ is there truly present but that the bread is still true bread.”

* *De Eucharistiæ Adorat.* [ut supra,] p. 140.

† In tali errore atque idolatria, qualis in orbe terrarum nunquam vel visus vel auditus fuit. Tolerabilior est enim error eorum, qui pro Deo colunt statuam auream aut argenteam, aut alterius materiæ imaginem, quomodo Gentiles Deos suos venerabantur: vel pannum rubrum in hastam elevatum, quod narratur de Lappis: vel viva animalia, ut quandam Ægyptii: quam eorum qui frustum panis. Coster. *Euch. c. 8. s. 10.* [p. 308. *Colon. Agr. 1600.*] Longe potiori ratione excusandi essent infideles idolatriæ, qui status adoraverunt. Ib.

‡ *Sacramentarii omnes negant sacramentum adorandum, et idolatriam appellant ejusmodi adorationem; neque id mirum videri debet, cum ipsis non credant Christum re ipsa esse præsentem, et panem eucharistiæ re ipsa nihil esse nisi panem ex furno.* Bellarm. *de Euch. l. 4. c. 29.* [vol. 3. p. 407. col. 2. *Prag. 1721.*]

If then the bread do still remain bread in the host, and the elements in the eucharist are not substantially changed into the natural and substantial body and blood of Christ, then it is confessed idolatry, and it is not strange, according to Bellarmine, that it should be so; and then sure it will be true *Αρτολατρεία*, or bread-worship too, if that be bread which they worship, and be not the natural body of Christ; that which is there present, that they adore; and if that be only bread, then they adore bread. And here I should enter upon that controversy, which has given rise to most of their abominable abuses and errors about the eucharist; the making both a God of it, and also a true sacrifice of this God, instead of a sacrament which Christ intended it, and that is their doctrine of transubstantiation; but a great man has spared me this trouble, by his late excellent discourse against it, to which I shall wholly refer this part of our present controversy, and shall take it for granted, as any one must, who reads that (unless in Boileau's phrase,* he be such a bigot, whose tenaciousness of his error has quite bereaved him of common sense, which is an unlucky character of his own friends), that that doctrine is false; and therefore, that the charge of idolatry, in this matter, is by their own confession true. But there are some more cautious and wary men amongst them, who out of very just and reasonable fears and suspicions, that transubstantiation should not prove true, and that they may happen to be mistaken in that, have thought of another way to excuse their idolatry; and that is, not from the truth, but merely from the belief of transubstantiation. "As long," say they, "as we believe transubstantiation to be true, and do really think that the bread and wine are converted into the substance of Christ's body and blood, and so worship the sacrament upon that account, though we should be mistaken in this our belief; yet as long as we think that Christ is there present, and design only to worship him, and not the bread, which we believe to be done away; this were enough to free us from the charge of idolatry." To which, because it is the greatest and the best plea they have, and they that make it have some misgivings, I doubt not, that transubstantiation will not hold; I shall therefore give a full answer to it, in the following particulars.

1. All idolatry does proceed from a mistaken belief and a false supposal of the mind, which being gross and unreasonable, will not at all excuse those who are guilty of it; there were

* Homo opiniosus, cui tenacitas erroris sensum communem abstulit. Boil. [ut supra,] p. 159.

never any idolaters but might plead the excuse of a mistake, and that not much more culpable and notorious, one would think, than the mistake of those who think a bit of bread, or a wafer, is turned by a few words into a god. They all thought, however blindly and foolishly, that whatever it was they worshipped ought to be worshipped upon some account or other ; that it was a true and fit object, and that adoration rightly belonged to it. Idolatry, though it be a great sin, and a great injury and affront to God, yet arises not so much from the malice of the will, as the blindness and darkness of the understanding ; there were hardly ever any such idolaters as maliciously and designedly intended to affront the true God by worshipping false gods or creatures ; as if a subject should pass by his prince out of ill-will, and a purpose to affront and defy him, and give the reverence and homage that was due to him to a rebel or fellow-subject standing by him ; but they did this because they mistook the person, and thought this to be the prince that was not, or that he was there where he was not, or that that which was there ought to be worshipped for his sake ; still falsely supposing that they ought to worship that wrong object, which they took to be right ; or in that false manner which they took to be true ; for if a mistake will excuse, it will excuse in one as well as another.

2. Though they do not only think and believe that which they worship to be a true divine subject ; but it really be so in itself, and that which they have in their thoughts and intentions to worship, be right ; yet they may still be guilty of idolatry ; for so were the Jews in the idolatry of the golden calf, whereby they intended not to throw off the worship of the true God, “the God of Israel who brought them out of the land of Egypt;”* for they appointed the feast to him under that title, and under the name of Jehovah at the same time ; and so in the idolatry of the calves set up by Jeroboam ;† they were not designed to draw off the people from worshipping the same God, who was worshipped at Jerusalem, but only to do it in another place, and after another manner ; but still as T. G.‡ says of the Roman idolaters, so it may be said of these Jewish, that what they had in their minds and intentions to worship, was the true God ; and whatever was the material object of their worship, he was the formal ; for they did no more think the gold, than the Papists think the bread to be God. So the Manichees in their idolatry, which St. Austin often mentions, of adoring

* Exod. xxxii. 4, 5. † 1 Kings xii. 27, 28. ‡ Cath. no Idol. p. 330.

the sun and moon,* the object which they had in their minds, and thoughts, and purposes to worship, was Christ, as much as the Papists have him in the eucharist. I would only ask, if a person's having a right object in his mind, in his thoughts and purposes to adore, which T. G.† so often pretends, would excuse him from idolatry; then suppose a person should before consecration worship the sacramental elements, to prevent which they generally keep them from being seen; yet in the thoughts, and intentions, and purposes of his mind, design to worship Christ then supposed, though falsely, to be there, as they worship him afterwards; whether this would be idolatry in him or no? If not, then they may worship the unconsecrated elements, as well as consecrated, even whilst they believe they are bread; if it be, then having a right object in our thoughts, and purposes, and intentions, will not excuse from idolatry.

3. Whatever was the material object of idolatrous worship, it was not worshipped for itself, no more than the bread or its accidents are by the Papists in the eucharist; but as they say of the host, because they believed that the true object of worship was really present in it, or in an extraordinary manner united to it;‡ so did the Gentiles, who thought the gods themselves, or at least a divine power, was brought into their images, by their consecrations, and that it resided and dwelt there, and they worshipped their images only upon this account.§ Now if they had thought this of the true God himself, that it was he, and not any false god that was thus present in their images, this would have been nevertheless idolatry. Thus the Manichees, who worshipped the sun, did not worship it for itself, but because they believed Christ had placed his tabernacle in the sun; so the more philosophical idolaters among the heathens, || who worshipped the several things of nature, as parts, they thought, of the great and omnipresent God; they did not worship them purely for themselves; but as God was in them, and they were, as St. Austin

* *Contra Faustum Manichæum, l. 1. c. 3. tom. 1. [l. 10. c. 2. vol. 8. p. 360. l. 14. c. 11. p. 435, &c. Par. 1837.] de Genesi contra Manich. l. 2. c. 25. tom. 2. Epist. 74. ad Deuterium, Solem etiam et Lunam adorant et colunt. [Epist. cxxxvi. Ibid. vol. 2. p. 1289.]*

† *Catholics no Idolaters, p. 329, 330.*

‡ *Deos, relictis sedibus propriis, non recusare nec fugere habitacula inire terrena, quinimo jure dedicationis impulsos simulachrorum coalescere junctioini. Arnob. contra Gent. l. 6. [p. 439. Par. 1842.]*

§ *Deos per simulachra veneramur. Ib. [p. 431.]*

|| *See Voss. de Idolol. l. 8. c. 1. [Oper. vol. 5. p. 735. Amstel. 1700.]*

speaks, *Aut partes ejus, aut membra ejus, aut aliquid substantiae ipsius*,* “either parts of him, or members of him, or something of his substance,” as the Papists believe the sacrament to be his body. Thus they deified the things of nature, though they thought there was but one Supreme God, whom they worshipped in them, as Eusebius says of them; they believe,† “that one God fills all things with his various power, and pervades all things, and that he is to be worshipped in, and by all visible things;” but yet they denied that those visible things were to be worshipped for themselves, but for the sake of God, and those invisible powers of God which were in them, as appears from the same place:‡ “They do not,” they say, “make gods of the visible bodies of the sun, moon and stars, or the other sensible parts of the world; but they worship those invisible powers that are in them of that God, who is God over all.” Nay, the Egyptians themselves did not, as Celsus pleads even for those idolaters, worship their brute animals, but only as they were symbols of God.§

4. Yet notwithstanding this plea of idolaters, they may justly be charged with worshipping those material objects, which they say, as the Papists, when we charge them with bread-worship, that they do not worship. So the Egyptians might be charged with brute worship, the heathens with the worship of the sun and moon; and the Scripture|| expressly reproaches and accuses the idolaters with worshipping a stock or stone, or a piece of wood; though it was the constant plea and pretence of the heathens, that they did no more worship those material objects, than the Papists do bread.¶ “I do not worship the senseless stone or image, which has eyes and sees not, ears and hears not,” says the heathen in St. Austin; and in Arnobius,** “We do not worship the brass, or the gold,

* August. 1. 24. contra Faustum.

† “Ἐνα γάρ ὅντα Θεὸν, παντοίας δυνάμεσι τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, καὶ διὰ πάντα δίκειν,—καὶ τοῦτον διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων σέβειν. Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. 1. 3. c. 13. [p. 121. Colon. 1688.]

‡ Μή τὰ ὄρμενα σώματα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων, μηδέ γε τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου φύσοντι θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀοράτους δυνάμεις, ἀντοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. [Ibid.]

§ Ἐλναι αὐτὰ καὶ Θεοῦ σύμβολα. Orig. contra Cel. 1. 3. [vol. 1. p. 458. Par. 1733.] || Isa. xliv. 17.

¶ Non ego illum lapidem colo, nec illud simulachrum quod est sine sensu. Aug. in Psal. Ixix.

** Nos neque æra, neque auri argenteique materias, neque alias, quibus signa conficiunt, eas esse per se religiosa decernimus numina, sed eos in his colimus eosque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert sacra. Arnobius contra Gentes. [ut supra, p. 439.]

or silver, or any of the matter of which our images are made ;" and in St. Austin again, " Do ye think we or our forefathers were such fools as to take these for gods ?" * No, they would disown it as much as Boileau does, with his " who shall say we adore the bread or wine ?" † or T. G's pretending that " we run upon that false ground, that Catholics believe the bread to be God." And yet, I see not why there may not be good reason to charge the one, as well as the other.

5. If those other idolaters had been so foolish and absurd as to believe and think, that those things which they worshipped were their very gods themselves, substantially present, and that the visible substance of their idols had been converted and turned into the substance of their gods ; this would have made their idolatry only more horribly sottish and ridiculous, but would not in the least have made it more excusable. If the Jews had thought that by the powerful words of consecration, pronounced by Aaron their high-priest, the calf had been turned into the very substance of God, and that, though the figure and shape of the calf had remained, and the accidents and species of gold, which appeared to their sight, yet that the substance of it had been perfectly done away, and that only God himself had been there under those appearing species of a golden calf ; would this have mended the matter, or better excused their idolatry, because they had been so extremely sottish, " that they conceived the gold not to be there at all, but in the place thereof the only true and eternal God ; and so, although the object (or rather subject) materially present in such a case would have been the golden calf, yet their act of adoration would not have been terminated formally upon that, but only upon God," as T. G. says of the bread, p. 329. Or if the Manichees had thought the body of the sun had been converted into the glorious body of Jesus Christ, would this have signified anything to bring them off, " if their mistake had been," as T. G. says, p. 327, theirs is concerning the bread, " that they believed the sun not to be there at all, and therefore, what they would have in their minds would not, or could not be the sun, but the only true and eternal Son of God." Indeed they had, as it appears from St. Austin, some such absurd imagination ; they did think that it was not the material sun, which appeared to their senses ; but a certain *navis*, which was the substance of Christ, that did radiate, through the triangular *fenestra* in the heavens, to the world,

* Usque adeone maiores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est ut Deos.

† Quis nos adorare panem et vinum ? Boileau, [ut supra,] p. 160.

and to the earth.* These wretched figments of theirs, whereby they made the Father the light, that was inaccessible, and placed Christ in the sun and moon, and the Holy Ghost in the air,† and called these the “seals of their substance;”‡ these made them indeed, as he says, worship only the figments of their own crazy heads, and things that were not;§ but yet this madness and extravagance did not excuse them from idolatry, which he still charges them withal. They worshipped that in the sun which was not there, as the Papists do in the sacrament, to wit, Christ’s natural body, let it be fantastic or not; and they endeavoured to turn “away the senses of men,” as he says,|| from that visible sun, and persuade them that it was Christ himself. So that, as T. G. says of their mistake concerning the bread, “they did not in their minds affirm the sun to be, but not to be,” p. 330, and so it could not, according to him, be the “object of their worship, because whatever is so, the understanding must affirm (either truly or falsely) to be,” p. 329.

There was an idolatry among the Persians, which Xenophon¶ and Quintus Curtius** give an account of, in their worship of fire, and carrying it about with the most stately pomp and solemnity upon silver altars, and a great train of priests and others; which does the most resemble the carrying about the host in procession of any thing I have met with, as it is described by Curtius. Here the sacred fire, as they called it, which no doubt was consecrated by some religious ceremonies, and was no more counted *ignis ex culina*, than the holy bread is *panis ex furno*; if they had supposed it by the magical charms of the priests to have been turned into some other substance than common fire, and had thought it to have become the most noble symbol of the great God, or the illustrious

* Eum (sc. Christum) navim quandam esse dicitis, eum triangulum esse perhibetis, id est, per quandam triangulam coeli fenestram lucem istam mundo terrisque radiare. August. contra Faustum Manichæum, l. 20. c. 6. [vol. 8. p. 528. Par. 1837.] Nescio quam navim per foramen triangulum micantem atque lucentem, quam confictam cogitatis, adoretis. Ibid.

† Trinitati loca tria datis; patri unum, i. e. lumen inaccessible, filio duo, Solem et Lunam, spiritui sancto rursus unum, Aeris hunc omnem ambitum. Ibid. c. 7. [p. 530.]

‡ Sedes ejusdem substantiae dicatis. Ibid. c. 8. [p. 531.]

§ In iis non quod sunt, sed quod vobis dementissime fingitis adoratis. Ib. c. 9. Vos autem colitis ea quæ nec dii nec aliquid sunt, quoniam prorsus nulla sunt. Ib. c. 9. [p. 532.]

|| Sensus simplicium conantur avertere, et nonnullorum avertunt. Id. Enarrat. in Psal. x. [vol. 4. p. 85. Par. 1835.]

¶ Cyrop. l. 8.

** L. 3.

veil, under which lay the divinity of the great Lord of the world, and that all the substance of common fire was quite changed, and done away in this sacred and eternal fire, as they accounted it,* this would not sure have made them to be no idolaters. T. G. will make himself a very great patron of idolaters, if with this art and sophistry of his he can bring them off, as he would the worshippers of the host, by the mere adding of more thick grossness, and more absurdities to their other mistakes. He will have the Israelites† to take the golden calf for God, and the Egyptians the sun to be God, and perhaps some of the most stupid heathens did take their very images for gods, and by his way, these were the most excusable, because they were the most mistaken. These mistakes would, after this rate, do great and extraordinary things for idolaters, and would be much better security for the Roman Church than her pretended infallibility; and indeed it is these must bring off her and her members from the guilt, though not from the acts of idolatry, as well as from other things, or else she and they are in a very sad and desperate condition.

But now I dare appeal to any man, who shall take in all those considerations I have mentioned together, whether the Papists adoring the host, upon the supposal and belief of transubstantiation, if that be not true, will excuse them from idolatry, and whether if a mistake in this case will excuse them, it will not excuse the grossest idolatry in the world? notwithstanding all the little shifts and evasions, that T. G. uses to wriggle himself out of this strait and difficulty into which his learned adversary had driven him.

HAVING considered the Adoration of the Host, as it is taught in the Church of Rome, I shall now consider the practice of it, which is more plain and evident, and notorious to all the world, however they would palliate and disguise their doctrine. According to their Missal, which is wholly different in this, as well as other things, from the old liturgic and eucharistic forms, as I shall shew by and by, the priest‡ in every mass, as soon as he has consecrated the bread and wine, “with bended

* Ignis quem, ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus perferebatur. Curt. Ib. † P. 322.

† Celebrans hostiam inter pollices tenens—genuflexus eam adorat; tum usque in terram genuflexus hostiam ipsam veneratur—sic de calice, reponit calicem super corporale,—et genuflexus sanguinem reverenter adorat, illum populo ostendens adorandum. Sacramentum genuflexus veneratur. [Rit. Celebr. Miss. c. 8. n. 5, 6, 7.] in Canon. Miss. genuflexus reverentiam facit Sacramento.

knees, he adores the sacrament,"* that which he has consecrated, that very thing which is before him, upon the paten, and in the chalice, and gives the same worship and subjection, both of body and mind to it, as he could to God or Christ himself; for with his head, and his soul, bowing towards it, and his eyes and thoughts fixed upon it, and directed to it, he prays to it, as to Christ himself: "Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, grant us peace," and the like; "then the priest rising up after he has thus adored it himself, he lifts it up as high as conveniently he can above his head, and with eyes fixed upon it, he shews it to be devoutly adored by the people,"† who having notice also, by ringing the mass bell, as soon as they see it, fall down in the humblest adorations to it, as if it were the very appearance of God himself, and if Christ himself were visibly present before them, they could not shew more acts of reverence and devotion and worship to him than they do to the host; they pray to it, and use the very forms of petition and invocation to that, as to Christ himself; such as these,‡ "O saving host, or blessed sacrament, which openest the door of heaven, give me strength and power against dangers, and against all my enemies. § Make me always more to believe, to hope in thee, to love

* Missale Romanum, c. 9. *Sacramentum genuflexus adorat, Capite inclinato versus Sacramentum dicit intelligibili voce, Agnus Dei qui tollis peccati mundi, miserere nobis, Da [Dona] nobis pacem.* [Ibid. c. 10. n. 2.]

† *Sacerdos postquam ipse hostiam genuflexus adoravit, continuo se erigens quantum commode potest, elevat in altum, et intentis in eam oculis populo reverenter ostendit adorandam.* [Ibid. n. 5.]

‡ *O salutaris Hostia, quæ coeli pandis ostium, bella premunt hostilia, Da robur, fer auxilium.* *Hymnus in Festo corporis Christi in Breviar. Rom. [p. 502. Antv. 1614.]*

§ *Adoro te devote latens Deitas, quæ sub his figuris vere latitas, tibi se cor meum subjicit, Deum meum te confiteor.—Fac me tibi magis credere, in te spem habere, te diligere, præsta menti de te vivere, et te illi semper dulce sapere,* Rythmus, St. Thom. ad Eucharist. in Missal.

[*Adoro te devote latens Deitas
Quæ sub his figuris vere latitas
Tibi se cor meum totum subjicit
Quia te contemplans, totum deficit
Visus, tactus, gustus in te fallitur
Sed auditu solo tuto creditur
Deum tamen meum te confiteor
Fac me tibi semper magis credere
In te spem habere te diligere
Præsta meæ menti de te vivere
Et te illi semper dulce sapere.*

ORATIONES POST MISSAM. Rythmus S. Thomæ ad sacram Eucharistiam ante Proprium Missarum, Antverp. 1773.]

thee ; grant that my soul may always live upon thee, and that thou mayest always taste sweet unto it."

Thus both the priest and the people are several times to adore and worship both the host and the cup in the celebration of the eucharist, and they will not disown, nor cannot, their directing and terminating their devotions and prayers upon the sacrament, which is before them ; prayers they call them to the Eucharist ;* and it is become a common form of doxology amongst them, instead of saying, "Praise be given to God," to say, "Praise be given to the most holy sacrament ;"† as it is in one of their authors, instead of, "ye shall pray to God," "ye shall pray to the body of Christ," *i. e.* to the sacrament.‡ Sanders, in his book of the Supper of the Lord,§ instead of "Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," turns it thus, "To the body and blood of our Saviour, under the species of bread and wine, be all honour and praise, and thanksgiving for evermore," as if it were another Person of the blessed Godhead.

This adoration is not only in the time of communion, when it is properly the Lord's supper and sacrament ; but at other times out of it, whenever it is set upon the altar with the candles burning, and the incense smoking before it, or hung up in its rich shrine and tabernacle, with a canopy of state over it. And not only in the Church which is sanctified, they say, by this sacrament, as by the presence of God himself,|| but when it is carried through the streets in a solemn and pompous procession, as it is before the Pope, when he goes abroad, just as the Persian fire was before the Emperor,¶ merely by way of state, or for a superstitious end, that he may the better be guarded and defended by the company of his god.** In all these times it is to be worshipped and adored by all persons as it passeth by, as if it were the glory of God which passed by. They are, like Moses, to make haste and bow their heads to the earth and worship ;†† but, above all, upon that high day which they have dedicated to this sacrament, as if it were some new deity, the *Festum Dei*, as they call it, the Feast of God, or

* Ad Sacram. Eucharistiae Rythmus. Rom. Breviar.

† Laus sacratissimo Sacramento. ‡ Orlandinus Hist.

§ Corpori et sanguini Christi sub speciebus panis et vini omnes honor, laus et gratiarum actio in secula seculorum. Sanderus de Cœna Dom.

|| Bellarm. de Sanct. c. 5.

¶ Curt. 1. 3. s. 3.

** Ad capitum illius sacri custodiam præsidalem et patronalem. Perron. de Euch. 1. 3. c. 19. [The edition of Perron's Treatise on the Eucharist, in the British Museum, is in French, from which the quotations in the previous part of this Treatise are made.]

†† Exod. xxxiv. 8.

the *Festum Corporis Christi*, the Feast of the Body of Christ ; for to call the sacrament God, is a general expression among them, as when they have received the sacrament, to say, “I have received my Maker to-day ;” and the person who in great churches is to carry the sacrament to the numerous communicants, is called, *Bajulus Dei*, the porter or carrier of God ; and they always account it, and so always reverence it, as Boileau falsely says the ancients did,* as “a present *numen* and Deity.” This feast was appointed by Pope Urban IV. about the middle of the 12th century ; and again by Clement V. in the beginning of the 13th, as is owned by themselves, upon the occasion of a vision to one Juliana, who saw a crack in the moon, that signified, it seems, a great defect in the Church for want of this solemnity : such was the rise of this great festival,† and so late was its institution in the Roman Church, in which alone, and in no other Christian Church of the world, it is observed to this day. And that the whole practice of the adoration of the host is novel, and unknown to the Primitive Church, and to the ancient writers, I shall endeavour to make evident against that bold and impudent Canon of the Council of Trent, which is the first Council that commanded it, in these words :‡ “ If any one shall say that the sacrament is not to be worshipped by a peculiar festival, nor to be solemnly carried about in processions according to the laudable and universal manner and custom of the holy Church, nor to be publicly proposed to the people, that it may be adored by them, and that the worshippers of it are idolaters, let him be accursed.” To confront this insolent pretence of theirs, that it was an universal custom of the Church thus to carry the sacrament in processions, the ingenious confession of their own Cassander is sufficient : “ The custom,” says he, “ of carrying about the sacramental bread in public pomp, to be seen and exposed to all eyes, is contrary to the mind and custom of the ancients, and seems to be lately brought in and received ; for they had this mystery in such religious veneration, that they would not admit any, not only to the par-

* Eucharistiam pro præsente numine semper habuisse veteres.

† Bzovii Annal. in Contin. Baron. Anno Dom. 1230. [vol. 13. p. 383. Colon. Agr. 1616.]

‡ Si quis dixerit, non esse hoc Sacramentum peculiari festiva celebritate venerandum, neque in processionibus secundum laudabilem et universalem Ecclesiæ sanctæ ritum et consuetudinem, solenniter circumgestandum, vel non publice ut adoretur, populo proponendum, et ejus adoratores esse idololatras, anathema sit. Concil. Trident. Can. 6. sess. 13. [p. 100. Mechlin. 1826.]

taking, but not to the sight of it, but the faithful, whom they accounted members of Christ, and worthy to partake of such a mystery. Wherefore all those who were but catechumens, or were *energumeni* or penitents, and not communicants, were always put out and dismissed at the celebration of it.”* Whether they be idolaters for adoring the sacrament, I have considered already, and their practice joined with their doctrine, makes it more evident. I shall now prove that this adoration of theirs was neither commanded nor used by Christ or the Apostles, nor by the Primitive Church, nor is truly meant and designed by any of those authorities of the Fathers, which they produce for it; and upon a general view of the whole matter, that it is a very absurd and ridiculous thing, that tends most shamefully to reproach and expose Christianity.

1. That it was not used or commanded by Christ or the Apostles, is plain from the account that all the Evangelists give us of Christ’s celebrating this sacrament with his Apostles, where is only mention of their taking and eating the bread, and drinking the wine, after it was blessed by him, but not the least tittle of their adoring it; so far from it, that they were not then in a posture of adoration, which they should have been in, if they had inwardly adored it, which makes this not only a negative argument, as Boileau† would have it, but a positive one. To take off this argument from the no mention of any such command or practice of adoration to the sacrament in the Gospel; he says, “Neither is the adoration of Christ prescribed in express words, ‡ nor that of the Holy Ghost, either commanded or performed.”§ But I hope all those places of Scripture, that so fully tell us, that both Christ and the Holy Ghost are God, do sufficiently command us to worship them, by bidding us worship God; and if it had told

* *Consuetudo qua panis eucharistiae in publica pompa conspicuus circumfertur, ac passim omnium oculis ingeritur, praeter veterum morem ac mentem haud ita longo tempore inducta et recepta videtur. Illi enim hoc mysterium in tanta religione ac veneratione habuerunt, ut non modo ad ejus perceptionem, sed ne inspectionem quidem admitterent, nisi fideles, quos Christi membra et tanta participatione dignos esse existimarent: quare ante consecrationem catechumeni, energumeni, poenitentes, denique non communicantes diaconi voce et ostiariorum ministerio secludebantur Cassand. Consult. [Oper. p. 984. Par. 1616.]*

† *De Adorat. Euch. 1. 2. c. 1.*

‡ *Nullo ex iis loco conceptis verbis præscriptam fuisse adorationem (sc. Christi), [ut supra,] p. 27.*

§ *Nullibi præceptam ejus adorationem aut confessim peractam conceptis intelligamus, [ibid.] p. 98.*

us that the sacrament is as much God as they, it had then commanded us to adore it. There are sufficient instances of Christ's being adored, when he appeared upon earth ; and had the other Divine Persons assumed a bodily shape, those who had seen and known it, would have particularly adored it, and so would the Apostles, no doubt, have done the sacrament, if they had thought that, when it was before them, an object of worship. St. Paul, when he wrote to the Corinthians* of their very great irreverence in receiving the Lord's supper, had very good occasion to have put them in mind of adoring it, had that been their duty ; this then would have been a proper means to have brought them to the highest reverence of it ; but he never intimates any thing of worshipping it, when he delivers to them the full account of its institution, and its design ; nor never reproves them, among all their other unworthy abuses of it, for their not adoring it ; and it is a very strange fetch in Boileau,† that he would draw St. Paul's command of examining ourselves before we eat, to mean our adoring when, or what we eat ; and that "not discerning the Lord's body," and being "guilty of the body and blood of Christ," is the not worshipping the sacrament, which he never so much as touches upon among all their other faults. Are there not many other ways of abusing the sacrament, besides the not worshipping it ? This is like his first argument out of Ignatius's Epistles,‡ that because he says, the sacrament ought to be loved, therefore he meant that it ought to be adored. At which rate, I should be afraid to love this gentleman, however taking he was, lest I should consequently adore him, or because I am not to abuse him, therefore it would follow, that I must worship him.

2. This adoration was not in use in the Primitive Church, as I shall shew,

1. From those writers who give us an account of the manner of celebrating the eucharist among the ancient Christians.

2. From the oldest Liturgies and eucharistic forms.

3. From some very ancient customs.

1. Those most ancient writers, 1. Justin Martyr,§ 2. the author of the Apostolic Constitutions :|| and 3. St. Cyril of

* 1 Cor. xi. c.

† Ib. p. 103. l. 2.

‡ L. 1. c. 2. Συνέφεοεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπᾶν. Ep. ad Smyr. [Biblioth. Patr. Apost. p. 8. Lips. 1699.] at ipsemet nos docet nihil nos diligere debere præter Solum Deum.

§ 1. Justin Martyr. Apolog. [1.] versus finem.

|| 2. Apostol. Constitut. l. 8. c. 11, 12, 13, 14. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 1. p. 472—485. Lut. Par. 1671.]

Jerusalem,* who acquaint us with the manner how they celebrated the eucharist, which was generally then one constant part of their public worship; they give no account of any adoration given to the sacrament, or to the consecrated elements, though they are very particular and exact in mentioning other less considerable things that were then in use, the kiss of charity, in token of their mutual love and reconciliation; this Justin Martyr mentions as the first thing just before the sacrament.† In St. Cyril's time,‡ the first thing was the bringing of water by the deacon, and the priests washing their hands in it, to denote that purity with which they were to compass God's altar; and then the deacon spoke to the people, to give the holy kiss; then bread was brought to the bishop or priest, and wine§ mixed with water in those hot countries: and after prayers and thanksgivings by the priest, to which the people joined their Amen,|| the deacons gave every one present of the blessed bread, and wine, and water; and to those that were not present, they carried it home; this, says Justin Martyr, "we account not common bread, or common drink, but the body and blood of Christ,¶ the blessed food, by which our flesh and blood is nourished, that being turned into it," which could not be said of Christ's natural body; nor is there the least mention of any worship given to that, as there present, or to any of the blessed elements. The others are longer and much later, and speak of the particular prayers and thanksgivings that were then used by the Church, of the *Sursum Corda*, lift up your hearts; which St. Cyril** says, followed after the kiss of charity; of the *Sancta Sanctis*, things holy belong to those that are holy; then they describe how they came to communicate, how they held their hand†† when they received the elements; how careful they were that none of them should fall upon the ground; but among all

* 3. Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. Mystagog. c. 5. [p. 325. Venet. 1763.]

† Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα, ἐπειτα προσφέρεται ἄρτος. Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. [Apol. 1.] [vol. 1. p. 218. Wirceb. 1777.]

‡ Catech. Mystagog. 5. [ut supra] Apostol. Constit. 1. 8. c. 11. [ut supra, p. 472.]

§ Ποτήρων κράματος. Just. Martyr. [ut supra, p. 220.]

|| Οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν διάκονοι διδόσασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὄδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσιν. Just. Martyr. Ib.

¶ Ἐνχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἣς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν ρέφονται ἡμῶν. Ib.

** Cyril. Hierosol. Mystagog. Cat. 5. [ut supra, p. 326.]

†† Μὴ τεταμένοις τοῖς τῶν χειρῶν καρποῖς, μηδὲ διηρημένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀριστεράν. Ib. [p. 331.]

these most minute and particular descriptions of their way and manner of receiving the sacrament, no account is there of their adoring it, which surely there would have been, had there been any such in the Primitive Church, as now is in the Roman.

We own indeed, as Boileau objects to us,* that from these it appears, that some things were then in use, which we observe not now; neither do the Church of Rome all of them, for they are not essential, but indifferent matters, as mixing water with wine, the priest's washing, the kiss of charity, and sending the sacrament to the absent; but the Church may alter these, upon good reasons, according to its prudence and discretion; but adoration to the sacrament, if it be ever a duty, is always so, and never ought upon any account to be omitted; nor would have been so by the Primitive Christians, had they had the same opinion of it, that the Papists have now.

2. From the oldest liturgies, and the eucharistic forms: in them it appears that there was no such adoration to the sacrament, till of late; for in none of them is there any such mention, either by the priest or the people, as in the Roman missal and ritual, nor any such forms of prayer to it, as in their breviary. Cassander† has collected together most of the old liturgies, and endeavours, as far as he can, to shew their agreement with that of the Roman Church; but neither in the old Greek, nor in the old Latin ones, is there any instance to be produced of the priests, or the people's adoring the sacrament, as soon as he had consecrated it; but this was perfectly added, and brought in anew into the Roman liturgy, after the doctrine of transubstantiation was established in that Church, which has altered not only their liturgy, but even their religion in good part, and made a new sort of worship unknown, not only in the first and best times of the Church, but for above a thousand years after Christ: Boileau finding this, though a negative argument, press very hard upon them (and sure it cannot but satisfy any reasonable man, that there is no direction in the ancient liturgies for adoring the sacrament; and it is very hard to require us to produce a rubric against it, when nobody thought of that which after-superstition brought in); he would fain therefore find something in an old liturgy that should look like that of their own; and no doubt but he might have easily met with abundant places for their worshipping and adoring God and Christ at that solemn office of the

* L. 2. [ut supra], p. 106.

† Cassandri Liturgic. [Oper. p. 10, &c. Par. 1616.]

Christian worship, the blessed sacrament ; and therefore out of the liturgy called St. Chrysostom's, which he owns to be two hundred years later than St. Chrysostom, he produces a place, wherein it is said,* that "the priest and the deacon worship in the place they are in, and likewise the people ;" but do they worship the sacrament ? Is that, or only God and Christ the object of their worship there ? Is there any such thing to determine this, as they have taken care there should be in their missal ? where it is expressly said several times, they shall worship the sacrament ;† but here in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy, it is God who is to be worshipped, "God be merciful to me a sinner ;"‡ but in the Roman, it is the "sacrament is prayed to,"§ and they would reckon and account it as true irreligion, not to worship and pray to that, as not to worship God and Christ. So in the Liturgy that goes under the name of St. James, the worship is only before the holy table,|| as it is in the Church of England ; and I hope Boileau will not pretend that this is to the holy table itself. If whatever we worship before, is the very object of our worship, then the priest is so, as well as the table ; but it is neither he, nor the table, nor the sacrament, but only Christ himself, to whom this worship is, or ought to be given at the celebration of the eucharist ; and therefore this adoration was as well before as after the consecration of the sacramental elements, and so could not be supposed to be given to them.

3. There were several very ancient customs relating to the sacrament, which are no ways consistent with the opinion the Papists have of it now, and with the worship of it as a God. It was very old, and very usual for Christians to reserve and keep by them, some of the elements ; the bread especially, which they had received at the sacrament, as is evident from Tertullian,¶ and from St. Cyprian,** who reports a very strange thing that happened to a woman, and also to a man, who had

* Boil. I. 2. [ut supra,] p. 74. ex Chrysost. Liturg. Εἶτα προσκυνεῖ ὁ ιερεὺς καὶ ὁ διάκονος, ἐν ϕέστι τόπῳ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς, ὅμοιῶς πάντες μετ' εὐλαβείᾳς προσκυνοῦσιν.

† Sacramentum Adorare, Rom. Missal. Cooperto calice Sacramentum adorare, et genuflexus Sacramentum adorare.

‡ Ὁ Θεὸς ἱλάσθητι μοι ἀμαρτωλῷ. Chrys. Liturg. [p. 70. Par. 1560.]

§ Stans oculis ad Sacramentum intentis precari.

|| Προσκυνοῦσιν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης. Liturg. St. Jacobi. [These words, though occurring in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, are not to be found in the Museum copy of that of St. James, ed. Par. 1560.]

¶ De Orat. c. 14. Accepto corpore Domini et reservato. [p. 136. Par. 1675.]

** De Lapsis. [p. 377. Par. 1842.]

unduly gone to the sacrament, and brought some part of it home with them. I shall not inquire whether this custom had not something of superstition in it; or whether in those times of danger and persecution, it were not of use; but had the Church then thought of it, as the Papists do now, they would not have suffered private Christians to have done this; nay, they would not have suffered them hardly to have touched and handled that which they had believed to be a God, no more than the Church of Rome will now, which is so far from allowing this private reservation of the elements, that out of profound veneration, as they pretend, to them, they wholly deny one part of them, the cup, to the laity, and the other part, the bread, they will not, as the Primitive Church, put into their hands, but the priest must inject it into their mouths.

The sending the eucharist not only to the sick and infirm, and to the penitents, who were this way to be admitted to the communion of the Church, *in articulo mortis*, as is plain from the known story of Serapion;* but the bishops of several churches sending it to one another, as a token and pledge of their communion with each other; and† it being sent also to private Christians, who lived remote in the country and private places, which custom was abolished by the Council of Laodicea; these all shew, that though the Christians always thought the sacrament a symbol of love, and friendship, and communion with the Church, so that by partaking of this one bread, they were all made, as St. Paul says, “one bread, and one body;” yet they could not think this to be a God, or the very natural body of their Saviour, which they sent thus commonly up and down, without that pomp and solemnity, that is now used in the Church of Rome, and without which, I own it is not fit a deity should be treated. But above all, what can they think of those, who anciently used to burn the elements that remained after the communion, as Hesychius‡ testifies, was the custom of the Church of Jerusalem, according to the law of Moses in Leviticus, of burning what remained of the flesh of the sacrifice, that was not eaten; but however, this was done out of some respect, that what was thus sacred, might not otherwise be profaned; yet they could not sure account that to be a God, or to be the very natural and substantial body of Christ, which they thus burnt and threw into the fire.

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. 1. 6. c. 34. [c. 44.] [p. 246. Par. 1659.]

† Iren. apud Euseb. 1. 5. c. 24. [Ibid. p. 193.] ‡ In Levit. viii. 32.

So great an honour and regard had the Primitive Church for the sacrament, that as they accounted it the highest mystery and solemnest part of their worship, so they would not admit any of the penitents, who had been guilty of any great and notorious sin, nor the catechumens, nor the possessed, and *energumeni*, so much as to the sight of it; the *εποψία*, and the participation of this mystery, used always in those times to go together, as Cassander* owns, and Albaspinæus† proves in his book of the Eucharist. And therefore, as it is plainly contrary to the primitive practice, to carry the sacrament up and down, and expose it to the eyes of all persons; so the reason of doing it, that it may be worshipped by all, and that those who do not partake of it, may yet adore it, was, it is plain, never thought of in the Primitive Church; for then they would have seen and worshipped it, though they had not thought fit that they should have partaken of it. But he that will see how widely the Church of Rome differs from the ancient Church in this, and other matters relating to the eucharist, let him read the learned Daille's two books of the Object of Religious Worship.

I shall now give an answer to the authorities which they produce out of the Fathers, and which Monsieur Boileau has, he tells us, been a whole year a gleaning out of them,‡ if he has not rather picked from the sheaves of Bellarmine and Perrone. But all their evidences out of antiquity, as they are produced by him, and bound up together in one bundle in his book, I shall examine and answer too, I doubt not, in a much less time. They are the only argument he pretends to for this adoration; and when Scripture and all other reasons fail them, as they generally do, then they fly to the Fathers; as those who are sensible their forces are too weak to keep the open field, fly to the woods, or the mountains, where they know but very few can follow them. I take it to be sufficient, that in any necessary article of faith, or essential part of Christian worship (which this of the sacrament must be, if it be any part at all), it is sufficient that we have the Scripture for us, or that the Scripture is silent, and speaks of no more than what we own and admit. In other external and indifferent matters relating merely to the circumstances of

* Consult. de Circumgest. Sacram. [Oper. p. 984. Par. 1616.]

† L'ancienne Police de l'Eglise sur l'administration de l'Eucharistie. Livre prem. chap. 15, 16, 17.

‡ Annuæ vellicationis literariæ ratiocinium reddo. Praef. ad Lect. Boileau de Adorat. Euchar.

worship, the Church may for outward order and decency, appoint what the Scripture does not. But as to what we are to believe, and what we are to worship, the most positive argument from any human authority is of no weight, where there is but a negative from Scripture. But we have such a due regard to antiquity, and are so well assured of our cause, were it to be tried only by that, and not by Scripture, which the Church of Rome generally demurs to ; that we shall not fear to allow them to bring all the Fathers they can for their witnesses in this matter, and we shall not in the least decline their testimony. Boileau musters up a great many, some of which are wholly impertinent and insignificant to the matter in hand, and none of them speaks home to the business he brings them for. He was to prove, that they taught that the sacrament was to be adored, as it is in the Church of Rome ; but they only teach as we do, "that it is to be had in great reverence and respect," as all other things relating to the divine worship ; "that it is to be received with great devotion, both of body and soul," and in such a posture as is to express this, "a posture of adoration ;" that Christ is then to be worshipped by us in this office especially, as well as he is in all other offices of our religion ; that his body and his flesh, which is united to his divinity, and which he offered up to his Father as a sacrifice for all mankind, and by which we are redeemed, and which we do spiritually partake of in the sacrament, that this is to be adored by us ; but not as being corporally present there, or that the sacrament is to be worshipped with that, or for the sake of that ; or that which the priest holds up in his hands, or lies upon the altar, is to be the object of our adoration, but only Christ and his blessed body, which is in heaven.

To these four heads I shall reduce the authorities which Boileau produces for the adoration of the host, and which seem to speak anything to his purpose ; and no wonder that among so many devout persons that speak as great things as can be of the sacrament, and used and persuaded the greatest devotion, as is certainly our duty, in the receiving it ; there should be something that may seem to look that way to those who are willing it should, or that may by a little stretching be drawn further than their true and genuine meaning, which was not to worship the sacrament itself, or the consecrated elements, but either—

1. To worship Christ, who is to be adored by us in all places, and at all times, but especially in the places set apart

for his worship, and at those times we are performing them in the church, and upon the altar, *in mysteriis*, as St. Ambrose speaks,* in the mysteries, both of baptism and the Lord's supper, and in all the offices of Christian worship, as Nazianzen† said of his sister Gorgia, that she called upon him, who is honoured upon the altar. That Christ is to be honoured upon the altar, where we see the great and honourable work of men's redemption as it was performed by his death, represented to us, is not at all strange ; if it had been another, and more full word, that he was to be worshipped there, it is no more than what is very allowable, though it had not been in a rhetorical oration ; it is no more than to say, that the God of Israel was worshipped upon the Jewish altar, or upon this mountain. For it is plain, she did not mean to worship the sacrament, as if that were Christ or God ; for she made an ointment of it, and mixed it with her tears, and anointed her body with it, as a medicine to recover her health, which she did miraculously upon it. Now, sure, it is a very strange thing that she should use that as a plaster, which she thought to be a God ; but she still took it for bread and wine that had extraordinary virtue in it, and it is so called there by Nazianzen, the antitypes† of Christ's body and blood, which shews they were not thought to be the substance of it ; and she had all these about her, and in her own keeping, as many private Christians had in those times ; and there was no host then upon the altar when she worshipped Christ upon it, for it was in the night,§ she went thus to the Church. So St. Chrysostom,|| in all the places quoted out of him, only recommends the worshipping of Christ our blessed Saviour, and our coming to the sacrament with all humility and reverence, like humble supplicants upon our knees, and with tears in our eyes, and all expressions of sorrow for our sins, and love and honour to our Saviour, whom we are to meet there, and whom we do, as it were,¶ see upon the altar, which is the great stress of all that is produced out of him.

* De Spir. Sancto, l. 3. c. 12. [c. 11.] [vol. 2. p. 681. Par. 1690.]

† Orat. 11. de Gorgon. Τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσπίπτει μετὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενον ἀνακαλούμενη. [vol. 1. p. 186. Par. 1630.]

‡ Εἴ πού τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος ἡ χεὶρ ἐθησαύρισεν. Ib. [p. 187.]

§ Νυκτὸς ἀωρίαν τηρήσασα. Ib. [p. 186.]

|| Vid. Boileau, c. 7. l. 1. ex Chrysost.

¶ Ὁρᾶς ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ. Chrys. in 1. Ep. Cor. c. 10. [vol. 10. p. 251. Par. 1837.]

That we do not truly see him upon the altar, the Papists must own, though they believe him there; but not so as to be visible to our senses; and he is no more to be truly adored as corporeally present, than he is visibly present.

St. Ambrose* says of St. Stephen, that “he being on earth, touched Christ in heaven;” just as St. Chrysostom says, “Thou seest him on the altar;” and as he, and any one that will not resolve to strain an easy figurative expression, must mean, not by a bodily touch, or sight, but by faith,† and by that we own, that we see Christ there, and that he is there present.

2. Adoring the flesh and body of Christ, which, though considered without his divinity, it would be worshipping a creature, as St. Cyril of Alexandria says,‡ yet as it is always united to his divinity, it is a true object of worship, and ought to be so to us, who are to expect salvation by it, even from the blood, and the body, and flesh of Christ;§ and therefore, as we inwardly trust in it, so we ought to adore it, as no doubt the angels do in heaven, and as we are to do in all the offices of our religion; though that be in heaven, yet we are to worship it upon earth, and especially, when it is brought to our minds and thought, by that which is appointed by Christ himself to be the figure and memorial of it, the blessed sacrament, there and in baptism especially, when we put on Christ, and have his death and rising again represented to us, and have such great benefits of his death and incarnation bestowed upon us; in these mysteries we are, as St. Ambrose says,|| to adore the body and flesh of Christ, to which we immediately and particularly owe them, and which we may truly call our Saviour. St. Ambrose, and St. Austin¶ his scholar after him, supposing that there was a great difficulty in that passage of the Psalms, “Worship his footstool,” for so it is in the Latin,** without the preposition *at* his footstool, they laboured to reconcile this with that command of worshipping and serving God alone; and to give an account how the earth, which was God’s footstool, could be worshipped; and the way they take was

* In Sermone 56. Stephanus in terris positus Christum tangit in cœlo. [vol. 5. p. 77. Lut. Par. 1661.] † Non corporali tactu, sed fide.

‡ In actis Concil. Ephes. Ὡς ἀνθρωπον προσκυνεῖσθαι, τῷ κτίσει λατρεύειν.

§ Προσκυνητή ἐστι σὰρξ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ Θεῷ, καθὼς ἀπεθέωσεν αὐτήν. Chrysost. Homil. 108.

|| Caro Christi, quam hodie in Mysteriis adoramus. Ambros. 1. 3. de Sp. San. c. 12. [ut supra.] apud Boil. p. 32.

¶ August. Enar. in Ps. 98. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 1520.]

** Adorate scabellum pedem ejus. [Ibid.]

this, to make Christ's flesh, which he took of the earth, to be meant by that earth which was God's footstool ;* and this, say they, we ought to worship ; his Apostles did so whilst he was upon earth, and we do so now, whilst he is in heaven. We worship the flesh of Christ, which was crucified for us, and by the benefit of which we hope for pardon and salvation, we worship that, though it be now in heaven ; we worship it in the solemn offices of our religion,† that flesh which he gave to be eaten by us for our salvation, that we worship, "for none eats that flesh, but he first worships :" worships that, if they please ; though St. Austin do not expressly say that ; but we will own, and we will be always ready to worship the flesh of Christ, by which we are saved, and we will do this especially at the sacrament ; and that more truly and properly, than they themselves will own, that we eat and manducate it, as St. Austin says, not with our teeth, as we do the bread, but eat it, and worship it too, as it is in heaven. St. Jerome‡ says of some devout Christians, that they went to Jerusalem, that they might adore Christ in those places, where the Gospel first shone from the cross. They went, that they might adore Christ in those places ; not that they believed him to be corporeally present in those places ; much less, that they worshipped the places themselves ; but they made a more lively impression upon them, and made them remember him with more passion and devotion ; and so does the blessed sacrament upon us, and we therefore worship Christ, whom we believe to be in heaven, in the sacrament, as they worshipped him in those places, where they were especially put in mind of him. Thus St. Jerome says, he worshipped Christ in the grave, and that Paula worshipped him in the stall,§ and so we may

* Invenio quomodo sine Impietate adoretur terra, scabellum pedum ejus ; suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra est, et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit. August. Ib.

† Ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit (nemo autem illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit). Aug. Ib. [p. 1521.]

‡ Epist. ad Marcel. Ibant Christiani Hierosolymam ut Christum in illis adorarent locis, in quibus primum Evangelium de patibulo coruscaverat. [These words are not to be found in any one of St. Jerome's Epistles to Marcella. In that of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella we have the following : Longum est nunc ab ascensu Domini usque ad præsentem diem per singulas ætates currere, qui Episcoporum, qui Martyrum, qui eloquentium in doctrina Ecclesiastica virorum venerint Hierosolymam, putantes minus se religionis, minus habere scientiae : nec summam, ut dicitur, manum accepisse virtutum, nisi in illis Christum adorasset locis, de quibus primum Evangelium de patibulo coruscaverat. vol. 1. p. 204. Veron. 1734.]

§ Ad Paul. et Eustoch.

be said to worship him on the cross, or on the altar, or in the sacrament, and yet not to worship the cross, or the altar, or the sacrament itself.

3. Other places out of the Fathers brought by him for the adoration of the host, mean only, that the sacrament is to be had in great reverence and esteem by us, as all things sacred and set apart to religious uses are ; "that a singular veneration is due to the eucharist," as St. Austin says,* and as is to baptism also, of which he uses the same words, "we venerate baptism,"† as we ought to do all the rites and ordinances of our religion ; this is meant by Origen in that first place of him produced by Boileau,‡ "Ye that are wont to be present at the divine mysteries, know how, when ye receive the body of Christ, ye keep it with all caution and veneration, that no part of the consecrated gift be let fall ; for ye think, and that rightly, that ye should be guilty of a fault, if any of it should be let fall through your negligence." And Christians have this care and veneration of those consecrated symbols of the body and blood of their Saviour, of these wonderful pledges of his love, that they would not willingly spill them, or let them fall to the ground, through their carelessness and neglect ; they that have that due regard to the Holy Bible which they ought, would not trample it under their feet, or shew any such disrespect to it ; it was this which Origen was recommending in that place from that example of their care and respect to the sacrament elements, that they should give it also to the word of God,§ "But if ye use such care, and that very deservedly, about keeping his body, how do ye think it to be a less fault to neglect the word of God, than to neglect his body?" The comparison here made between the word of God and the sacrament, so plainly shews that he no way meant its adoration, that I wonder this person was not ashamed to pretend just before it, that he|| would bring no authority, but what was

* Eucharistiae deberi singularem venerationem. Epist. 118. c. 3. [Epist. 54. vol. 2. p. 187. Par. 1836.]

† Baptismum, ubicunque est, veneramur. Id. Epist. 146.

‡ De Euch. Ador. [ut supra,] p.10. ex Orig. Homil.13. Nostis qui Divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quomodo cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneric aliiquid dilabatur. Reos enim vos creditis, et recte creditis, siquid inde per negligentiam decidat.

§ Quod si circa corpus ejus tanta utimini cautela, et merito utimini ; quomodo putatis minoris esse piaculi Verbum Dei neglexisse quam Corpus ejus ? Ib.

|| Alienum esse ab institutis meis ullum in medium adducere patrem quin conceptis verbis propitium. Boil. ib. p. 10.

expressly for his opinion, and use none but invincible arguments; but Roman* faith must be defended with Roman courage and confidence, which is the only invincible thing they have.

The words of Theodoret are a great deal more plausible, and seem at the first glance to look more fairly than any for their purpose. The elements are understood to be what they are made, and they are believed and reverenced as those things which they are believed.† Here our faith makes the sacrament to be what it signifies, to become to us the *res sacramenti*, as well as a sign and representation of it, and that thing is to be adored by us in the use of the sacrament, which is the true sense of Theodore's words; and that he cannot mean in the Roman sense, that the elements are converted into another substance, the substance of Christ's body, is plain from what immediately goes before, and utterly destroys what they would catch from half his words; for he says, that the elements, or the mystical signs, do not, after sanctification, recede from their own, but remain in their former substance.‡ Thus their best witness, that seems to speak the most for them, yet speaks that against them which destroys their whole cause, as he must own, whoever reads the Dialogue, and considers the design of it, which was to answer the pretence of those who said that the body of Christ was after his ascension turned into a divine substance, and lost the true nature of body,§ as the symbols of Christ's body and blood are changed, say those heretics, into what they were not before; yes, says he, now ye are taken in your own net, for they remain in their former nature and substance afterwards, and so does Christ's body. If then the change of these sacred elements be only as to their use and virtue, but not as to their substance, according to Theodoret, then he could not mean that they should be adored, but only reverenced by the word *προσκυνεῖται*, just as the Holy Bible|| is said to be reverenced, and the priests themselves, by the very same word.

* Animo decreverim argumenta invictissima concludere.

† Νοεῖται ἄπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται, ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα, ἄπερ πιστεύεται. Theod. Dialog. ἀσυγχύτ. [vol. 4. p. 126. Hal. 1772.] apud Boil. [ut supra,] p. 64.

‡ Οὐδὲ γάρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἔξισταται φύσεως, μένει γάρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας. Ib.

§ "Ωσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ.

|| Προσκυνήσας μετ' εὐαγγέλιον, Liturg. Chrysost. [St. Chrysostom's words are: Καὶ δεικνύων τὸ ἄγιον εὐαγγέλιον, λέγει ἐκφώνως Σοφία ὄρθη. Εἶτα προσκυνήσας αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ ἵερεὺς κατόπισθεν αὐτοῦ κ. τ. λ. Oper. vol. 12. p. 1019. Par. 1838.] ἵερεῖς προσκυνητοὶ προσκυνητοὶ ἀδελφοί, προσκυνητὴ συνοδός, Acta Concil. Ephes.

4. Some of the Fathers' words imply, that when we come to the sacrament, it should be with the greatest lowliness both of body and mind ; and as the Primitive Church used to do, and as the Church of England does, in a posture of worship and adoration, in the form and manner of worship, as St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks,* or as St. Chrysostom, in the form of supplicants and worshippers † of Christ, as the Magi were when they came to bring their presents to him ; “ do thou then present him with humility, and a lowly and submissive heart, and be not like Herod, who pretended he would come to worship him, but it was to murder him ; but rather imitate the Magi, and come with greater fear and reverence to thy Saviour than they did.”

This is the whole design and substance of what is produced out of St. Chrysostom ;‡ and this is the plain meaning of Origen,§ that when we come to receive Christ in the sacrament, we should do it with all humility ; “ for consider,” says he, “ that then the Lord enters under thy roof ; do thou therefore humble thyself, and imitate the centurion, and say, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof.” When the Fathers would give us the picture of a devout communicant, they draw him in the greatest posture of humility and reverence, looking upon and adoring the Saviour,|| who died for him upon the cross, prostrating his soul, and his body before him, and exercising the highest acts of devotion to him, and with tears in his eyes and sorrow in his heart,

* Κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος. Catech. Mystag. 5. [p. 332. Venet. 1763.]

† Σχῆμα ἵκετῶν καὶ προσκυνητῶν ἔχωμεν, Chrysost. Homil. 7. in Matth. [vol. 7. p. 130. Par. 1836.] ἐπὶ τὸ τιμῆσαι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν νίδν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ibid. προσήνεγκε σὺ ταπεινοφροσύνην καὶ τεπεινωμένην καρδίαν. Homil. de Phil. διαναστήσωμεν τοίνυν ἑαντοὺς, καὶ φοίξωμεν, καὶ πολλῷ τῷν βαρβάρων ἑκίνων πλείονα ἐπιδεξώμεθα τὴν εὐλάβειαν. Homil. in c. 10. Ep. 1. ad Cor. [Ibid. vol. 10. p. 255.]

‡ Boil. c. 7. 1. 1.

§ Hom. 5. in N. T. Tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingreditur ; tu ergo humilis te ipsum imitare hunc Centurionem, et dicito, Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum.

|| Φρίξωμεν τοίνυν προσιόντες, εὐχαριστήσωμεν, προσπέσωμεν ἔξομολογούμενοι τὰ πταίσματα ἡμῶν, δακρύσωμεν τὰ οἰκεῖα πενθοῦντες κακά, ἐκτενεῖς εὐχάριστα ἀποδῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ, μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας, ὡς τῷ Βασιλεῖ προσιόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, Chrysostom. in Serm. 31. in natal Dom. [vol. 2. p. 365. Par. 1718.] στῶμεν ἔμφοβοι καὶ ἐντρομοι κάτω νεύοντες τὸ ὅμμα, ἀνω δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, στενάζοντες ἀφώνως ἀλαλάζωμεν τῇ καρδίᾳ. Johan. Hieros. apud Chrysost. et apud Boil. [ut supra,] p. 44. ἐνθυμήθητι ὅτι γῇ ὡν καὶ σποδὸς, αἷμα καὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνεις. Chrysost. Ibid. [vol. 2. p. 365.]

standing like a penitent before him, trembling and afraid, as sensible of his own guilt ; with his eyes cast down, and with dejected looks considering that he is but dust and ashes, who is vouchsafed this honour, and inwardly groaning and sighing, and panting in his soul, saying, “ Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof ; ” and the like. And thus they may find all devout communicants in our Church behaving themselves, during the whole solemnity and celebration of that blessed sacrament, in which mystery they always adore Christ, and that flesh of Christ which was crucified ; for then, as St. Ambrose and St. Austin speak, when their minds are all the while inflamed with the most devout affections, and they are performing all the inward and outward acts of the highest devotion to God and their Saviour, then they are upon their knees, offering up most ardent prayers and thanksgiving ; but not to the sacred symbols which are before them, or the sacrament itself, as the object to which, but as the circumstance at and in which all this devotion and worship is performed. And there is a great deal of difference from all this in the Church of Rome, when they direct all this to the sacrament itself, and to the consecrated elements, when they terminate their worship upon what is before them, and direct their intentions to that as an object ; and, therefore, whenever they have this object appear to them, they immediately fall down and worship it, not only in the time of communion, when it finds them at their devotion, but at all other times, when they are standing or walking in the streets, and are in no present temper or posture of devotion ; yet all of a sudden, as soon as they see the host coming by, they must put themselves into one, and adore that very object that appears to them.

The Fathers always speak of persons as coming to the sacrament, and partaking of it, and worshipping Christ, and the body of Christ in the celebration of those divine mysteries ; but it never entered into their minds or thoughts, to persuade or encourage their hearers, in their most devout discourses, to adore the host, as the Church of Rome does, either in, or especially out of the time of that sacred solemnity ; and though it be very easy to make a book out of the Fathers, and to heap authorities out of them to little purpose, yet it is impossible to prove by all the places produced out of them, by T. G.* or more largely by Boileau, that they meant any more than what we are very willing to join with them in, that

* Chap. 1. Of the Adoration of the blessed Sacrament.

Christ is to be worshipped in the sacrament, as in baptism and the other offices of our religion ; and that his body and flesh, which he offered for us, and by which we expect salvation, is also to be adored, as being always united to his Divine nature ; and that the sacrament itself, as representing the great mystery of our redemption, is to be highly reverenced by us, and that we should come to receive it with all humility, and in the most decent posture of worship and adoration, as the primitive Christians did. But that the sacrament itself is to be adored, as well as Christ ; that which the priest holds in his hands, or lies upon the altar before us, that this is to be the object of our worship, and to have all manner of *latrīa*, both of body and soul directed to that, as to God himself ; that the consecrated elements, or the sacred symbols of Christ's body and blood are to be worshipped by us, when we receive them, or when without receiving them we see them set upon the altar, or carried about in procession ; this, which is the controversy between us, not one Father says, but above three hundred of them in a Council say,* “that to prevent idolatry, Christ appointed an excellent image and representation of himself in the sacrament, without any manner of human shape, even the plain and simple substance of bread.” But they resolve that idolatry shall not be prevented, but they will be so sottish as to commit it with that which was designed to prevent it, and which one would think should not in the least tempt any man to it, with a bit of bread.

The absurdities of which, upon a general view of the whole, I shall now for a conclusion, represent and offer as the last argument against it ; and though that alone might be sufficient, since God never imposes any thing that is really foolish and ridiculous, to be believed or practised by his creatures ; yet I thought it the fittest to be produced after we are well assured, that neither Scripture nor antiquity have required any such thing. And however unwilling Bellarmino† is to admit of arguments of this nature, from the absurdity of the thing, as knowing how very liable the Church of Rome was to them ; and though it was the most unjust reflection upon Christianity to say, that any thing that is a part of that is so, which they are too ready to insinuate, and so bring a reproach upon the

* Concil. Sept. Constant. [Concil. II. Nicæn.] Act. 6. Τὴν εἰκόνα ὥλην ἐξαίρετον, ἥγονν ἄρτου οὐσίαν, προσέταξε προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν. ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 7. p. 447. Lut. Par. 1671.]

† Bell. de Sacram. Euchar. I. 3. c. 10. [vol 3. p. 318. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

common Christianity, rather than part with their own ridiculous opinions ; yet after we have thoroughly informed ourselves, that there is nothing of a divine authority, as one can hardly think there should be for what is so absurd in itself, then an argument from the folly and unreasonableness of the thing must be allowed to be very proper ; and till men have lost all their reason, it will always be very cogent : and here it is so very strong, and presses so hard upon their adoration of the host, that it is no wonder that they love to set by, and except against reason, whenever this matter is to be tried : but it is most sad to consider, that they should have so little regard and concern for the credit and reputation of the Christian religion, as by this means so shamefully and notoriously to expose it to the reproach and contempt of the wisest men. How must a Jew or a Turk, who are great enemies to all idolatry, be prejudiced against Christianity, when he sees those who profess it fall down and worship a wafer, and make an idol of a bit of bread ? When he lives in those places where he sees it carried about with candles and torches before it, in most solemn and pompous processions, and all persons as it goes by falling upon their knees and saying their prayers, and using all acts of devotion to it ; would he not wonder what strange and new God, that no history ever mentioned, the Christians adored ?

Mankind indeed, when very ignorant, used to worship a great many creatures that were very useful to them, and when they were very hungry, if they lighted upon bread, it was no great wonder ; but sure it can be no more fit to be worshipped by those who better know God, than any of his other creatures, or any of the most dumb and senseless and pitiful images, for which the Christians so often and so justly laughed at the idolatrous heathens ; especially those of them, who were so foolish, and such true belly-gods, as to eat and feed upon what they worshipped and deified. This the first and most learned Christians charged, as the highest degree of folly in the Egyptians, to eat the same animals whom they worshipped ;* and a wise heathen could not think any would be so mad as to think that to be a god with which he was fed.† It was the ingenious opinion of a very learned Father, that God made the difference between the clean and the unclean beast, to prevent this

* Σέβειν, καὶ ἐσθίειν τι προσκυνούμενων. Orig. contra Celsum, 1. 4. Θύεις πρόβατον, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ προσκυνεῖς. Tatian. Orat. contra Græc. Apim bovem adoratis et pascitis. Minut. Octav. p. 94.

† Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, ut illud quo vescatur, Deum esse credat ? Tully de Natura Deorum.

Egyptian and brutish folly in the Israelites, who lived among them ; “because,” says he, “by their abominating the unclean, they would not deify them ; and by eating the clean, they would be secured from ever worshipping them; for it must be the extremest madness to worship what they eat.”* How did the ancient apologists for Christianity, with great wit and smartness, ridicule the other idols of the heathens, as being the works at first of the carver, or the painter, and particularly for being such gods as were baked at first in the furnace of the potter† (and it had been much the same, had it been in the oven of the baker), for being gods of brass, or of silver ?‡ and yet they counted the silver or the brass no more a god than others do the bread, as I have shewn above.§ How at other times did they think fit to expose their impotent and senseless deities, because they could not preserve themselves from thieves,|| nor yet from rottenness : but the worms would still gnaw, and the vermin deface them, and the birds would defile them with their excrements even in their own temples ?¶ And could not this be said of a breaden deity ? Is not that as subject to all these mischances, and therefore as liable to all those reproaches ? Will not a mouse or rat run away with it ? Though if it do so, they have taken care, if they can catch the sacrilegious thief, to have the sacrament drawn out of its entrails, and religiously disposed of ;** but, however, if no such misfortune come to it, it will in a little time, if it be kept, prove sour, and grow mouldy ; and when it does so, what should then thrust out the deity, and bring in again the substance of the bread that was quite gone before, is an unaccountable miracle ; and that which is taken of it into our bodies, is

* Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα τῶν ζώων λέγει, τὰ δὲ καθαρὰ, ἵνατὰ. μὲν ὡς ἀκάθαρτα βδελυττόμενοι μὴ θεοποιῶσι, τὰ δὲ μὴ προσκυνῶσιν ἐσθιόμενα. Ἀβελτηρίας γάρ ἐσχάτης τὸ ἐσθιόμενον προσκυνεῖν. Theodoret. in Quæst. in Genes.

† Incotos fornacibus figulinis. Arnob. contra Gent. 1. 6. [p. 436. Par. 1842.]

‡ Deus æreus vel argenteus. Minut. Octav. p. 74. [p. 582. Wirceb. 1782.]

§ Nos neque æris neque auri argentique materias. Arnob. ut supra. [p. 439.]

|| Deos vestros plerumque in prædam furibus cedere. Lactant. Institut. 1. 2. c. 4. [p. 89. Wirceb. 1783.]

¶ Quanto verius de diis vestris animalia muta naturaliter judicant, mures. hirundines, milvi ; non sentire eos sciunt ; rodunt, insultant, incident, ac nisi abigatis, in ipso Dei vestri ore nidificant ; Araneæ vero faciem ejus intexunt. Minut. Octav. p. 75. [ut supra, p. 582.]

** Antonin. de Defect. Miss. in Bishop Jewel's Reply.

not like, one would think, to have any better, or more becoming treatment there, than by the other ways; so that upon all these accounts, this which is worshipped by Christians, is in as ill condition, as that which was worshipped by heathens; and those witty adversaries, Celsus, and Porphyry, and Julian would have thrown all that the Christians had said against the heathen idols back upon themselves, and have improved them with as great advantage, and retorted them with as much force, had the Christians in those times worshipped the host, or the sacramental elements, as the Papists do now; and it is more than a presumption, no less than a demonstration, that the Christians did not, because none of these things that were so obnoxious, and so obvious, were ever in the least mentioned by the heathens, or made matter of reflection upon them, when they picked up all other things, let them be true or false, that they could make any use of to object against them. But the primitive Christians gave them no such occasion; which was the only reason they did not take it. As soon as the Church of Rome did so, by setting up the worship of the host,* Averroes, the Arabian philosopher, in the 13th century, gave this character of Christians, that he had found "no sect more foolish, or worse than they," in all his travels and observations, upon this very account, "for they eat the God whom they worship;" and a later historian and traveller† tells us, that it is a common reproach in the mouths of the Turks and Mahometans, to call the Christians devourers of their God; and a Jew, in a book printed at Amsterdam in the year 1662, among other questions put to Christians, asks this shrewd one, "If the host be a God, why does it corrupt and grow covered with mould? and why is it gnawn by mice or other animals?"‡

The only way the Papists have to bring themselves off from these manifest absurdities, is only a running farther into greater: and their little shifts and evasions are so thin and subtile sophistry, or rather such gross and thick falsehoods, that it could not be imagined that the heathen adversaries could ever know them, and therefore be so civil as Boileau would make them,§ as not to lay those charges upon them, as others do; nor can any reasonable and impartial man ever

* Apud Dionys. Carthus. in 4. dist. Nullam se sectam Christiana deteriorem aut ineptiorem reperire. Quem colunt Deum, dentibus ipsi suis discerpunt ac devorant.

† Bullæus Gultius in Itin. Mange Dieu.

‡ Si Hostia Deus est, cur situ obducta corrumpitur? cur à gliribus et muribus corroditur? Lib. quæst. et Resp.

§ Cap. 10. l. 2. de Ador. Euch.

believe them ; for they are plainly these two ; that they do not worship what all the world sees they worship ; and that they do not eat what they take into their mouths and swallow down. Which is in plain words an open confession, that they are ashamed to own what they plainly do ; we do not worship the bread, say they, for that we believe is done away, and turned into the natural body of Christ, and so we cannot be charged with bread-worship. But do ye not worship that which ye see, and which ye have before you, and which is carried about ? And would not any man that sees what that is, think ye worship bread or wafer ? And could you ever persuade him that it was any thing else ? And if, notwithstanding what you think of it against all sense and reason, it be still bread ; then I hope it is bread that ye worship ; and till others think as wildly as ye do, ye must give them leave to think and charge you thus. But if it were true, that ye did not worship the bread, yet ye must and do own, that ye worship the species of the bread ; and how ye should do that, without being guilty of another very gross absurdity, ye do not know yourselves ; for ye must make them so united to Christ, as to make one *suppositum*, and so one object of worship, as his humanity and Godhead are ; and then according to this way of yours, Christ may as well be said to be impanned and united to bread, or its species, as incarnated and united to flesh, as some of you have taught* that the bread in the eucharist is assumed by the *λόγος*, as the human nature was. But not to mention these, which, wheresoever ye turn ye, stare ye full in the face, and should make ye blush, one would think, had ye not put off all shame, as well as all sense in this matter ; grant ye what you would have, that it is not bread, but the substantial body, flesh and blood of a man, that is in the host ; will this help much to mend the matter, or to lessen the absurdity, and not rather increase and swell it ? For besides the incredible wonder, that a bit of bread should by a few words of every common priest, be turned immediately into the true and perfect body of a man ; nay, into ten thousand bodies at the same time, which is a greater miracle than ever was done in the world, and is as great almost, as creating the world itself out of nothing ; and if it were true, would make the priest a god, certainly, and not a man, and much rather to be worshipped than a bit of bread, as Lactantius says† of the

* Bellarm. de Ruperto Abbe Tuitensi, l. 3. de Euch. c. 11. [ut supra, p. 320. col. 1.]

† Meliorem esse qui fecit, quam illa quæ facta sunt : et si hæc adoranda sunt, artificem a quo facta sunt, ipsum quoque multo potiori jure adoran-

heathen idols, “ he that made them ought rather to be worshipped than they :” besides this, it seems it is the whole body of a man, then, which is eaten and swallowed down, instead of bread ; for sure the same thing is not one thing when it is worshipped, and another thing when it is eaten : and then how barbarous and inhuman, as well as absurd and ridiculous, must this appear to any man, that is not used to swallow the most substantial nonsense, as well as the whole body of a man for a morsel ? And then all the former absurdities which I mentioned do return again, of the eating that which we worship, which the Apologists thought so wild and extravagant in the Egyptian god-eaters. Well then, there is no other way, but to say, we do not eat him as we eat other food ;* so might the Egyptians have said too, if they had pleased ; though, how they can otherwise eat him, it is hard to understand ; but only in the heretical sense of spiritual and sacramental eating ; unless they will at the same time say, they do not eat him truly and naturally, and yet do eat him so ; and they are so used to contradictions in this point, that I do not know whether they will make any more bones of this than of the rest, or of the substantial body of a man himself, when they have got so large a faith, or rather so large a swallow. But how is it, that ye do not eat him after a natural and carnal manner, and yet it is a carnal body that ye so much contend for, and that ye really and truly eat, and it is a carnal mouth and throat he is put into, and sometimes a very foul and wicked one ? And yet this must by this carnal way eat the very body of Christ, as well as the most faithful ; “ but we do not grind this body with our teeth, nor chew him in our mouths as our other food, nor digest him in our stomachs, nor cast him out into the draught :” if ye do not as ye pretend, being ashamed of the most shameful and abominable consequences of it ; and yet a very great many among you have owned all that,†

dum esse. Lactant. Instit. 1. 2. c. 2. [The exact words of Lactantius are, Et ideo melior est qui fecit quam illa quae facta sunt. Quid inter se tam contrarium quam statuarium despicere, statuam adorare, et eum ne in convictum quidem admittere qui tibi Deos faciat ? Quam ergo vim, quam potestatem habere possunt, cum ille qui fecit illa non habeat ? ut supra, p. 83.]

* Boil. c. 10. 1. 2. Comestionem substantiae corporis Christi non esse naturalem.

† Retract. Bereng. sub Nicol. 2 in Concil. Rom. Verum corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sensualiter, non solum Sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus Sacerdotum tractari et frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 9. p. 1101. Lut. Par. 1672.] Sic Gault. et Abbaud. apud Boil. [ut supra,] p. 177.

as not knowing how it could be otherwise,* and how if this eating be spiritual and sacramental, Christ's presence may not be so too, which is the heresy on the other side; and ye seem to make strange monsters of yourselves that have spiritual teeth, and can spiritually, and not naturally eat a natural and a carnal body; and if ye do not thus eat, as ye eat other meat when ye take it into your mouths, and into your stomachs, and do every thing to it that you do to your other food, which is as like eating, as if it were very true and natural eating; and if it be not bread which is thus eaten, when it is just as like other bread as is possible, then it is certainly the most fantastic food, and the most fantastic way of eating it, that can be imagined; then there must be a new way of eating, which is not eating, and a new way for a body to be present, and yet not present as a body; and I will add, there must certainly be then a new understanding, which is no understanding, that can understand or believe all this.

But further, ye have found it necessary for your purpose of adoring the host, to keep the body of Christ confined to it, and inclosed in it as a prisoner, till the species corrupt, and so the prison is as it were opened, and the body let loose, and when that is gone, whether ye think it be the species, or the substance of bread that corrupts, I would gladly know; and surely then, when the body is gone, there is no need of such a miracle to keep the accidents without a subject; if it be bread, what think ye of this sudden transmutation, from bread to flesh, and from flesh to bread again, and this latter without any words from the priest; but since Christ's body must be so permanently in the host, not only in the act and use of the sacrament, but at all other times; ye are then forced to own, that as it is eaten in the communion, as well by those who have no faith, as by the most faithful Christians; so if any other animal should happen to eat the host, taking it no doubt heretically for mere bread, that yet they truly take the body of Christ, and eat it after some manner or other, but whether it be after a natural manner in them or no, I do not know how you have resolved, but most of the Schoolmen have agreed that scandalous question† in the

* Iste in omnibus veritatem subtrahit, dum asserit omnia fieri (sc. fractionem et attritionem corporis Christi in Eucharistia) non substantia, sed in specie visibili et forma panis, et Sacramento tantum. Gualter. adversus Abailard. apud Boil. [Ibid. p.] 179.

† An mus, vel porcus vel canis comedens hostiam suscipit corpus Christi? Bishop Jewel's Reply, Article 24. [23.] [p. 459. Lond. 1611.] See Burchard. de Correct. Miss. upon those Questions, De vino in calice

affirmative, “Whether if a mouse, or a hog, or a dog eat the host, they do partake of Christ’s body?” Or, as Thomas Aquinas, your most angelic doctor says, consequently to this opinion of yours,* “It would otherwise derogate from the truth of this sacrament and Christ’s presence in it.” So that wherever the species are, there is always Christ’s body, and whatever happens to them, happens to that also; if they fall to the ground, Christ’s body does so too; and so, if they lie in a hollow tooth, or hang but in the least crumb or drop upon a communicant’s beard; there, according to their principles, they and the body must be worshipped with *latria*; and if they be in a mouse or fly’s body, that has got to them, the adorable object still goes with the species, till they be corrupted; and whether the species be corrupted or no, if they be poisoned, as they have sometimes been, or whether Christ be there with the accidents of the poison, I cannot tell; but when the species are in the pix, he is as fast there as he ever was in his sepulchre, and to all appearance as dead and senseless; and if the species be burnt or gnawn, or vomited out of the stomach, before they are corrupted, all these misfortunes belong as truly to Christ’s body as to them, and so worse indignities may be thus offered every day to Christ’s glorious body, than ever were offered to it in its state of humility and contempt upon earth, when it was spit upon, and scourged, and pierced, and crucified by the Jews. But, good God! that men should think to honour and adore Christ and his body, by thus exposing them to the danger of the vilest abuses! that human reason should be so decayed and besotted, as to believe and defend such palpable absurdities! that Christianity should be so shamefully and abominably exposed to all the world, by such an extravagant doctrine, such an obnoxious practice and unreasonable idolatry as this is! God Almighty open all our eyes, that we may not be given up to blindness of mind, and darkness of understanding, and to the belief of lies, as most idolaters generally were; but may it please him, who is the God of truth, “to bring into the way of truth, all such as have erred and are deceived,” in this or any other matter; in which charitable and constant prayer of our Church, which is much better than cursing and anathematizing, its adversaries, I hope, as well as its friends will not refuse to join with it.

congelato, De musca vel aranea vel veneno mixto cum sanguine, De vomitu post receptionem Sacramenti, Quando cadit corpus Christi, Quando cadit sanguis Christi. fol. 51, 52.

* Aliter derogaret veritati corporis Christi. p. 3. qu. 79. [qu. 80. art. 3. vol. 24. p. 428. col. 2. Venet 1787.]

THE POPISH
METHODS FOR THE PARDON OF SIN,
GROUNLESS.

BOOK I.

UPON THE HEAD OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING AURICULAR CONFESSION, AS
IT IS PRESCRIBED BY THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, AND
PRACTISED IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THE zealots of the Church of Rome are wont to glory of the singular advantages in the communion of that Church, especially in respect of the greater means and helps of spiritual comfort, which they pretend are to be had there, above and beyond what are to be found amongst other societies of Christians. Which one thing, if it could be as substantially made out, as it is confidently asserted, could not fail to sway very much with all wise men, and would undoubtedly prevail with all devout persons (who were made acquainted with the secret) to go over to them. But if, contrariwise, it appear upon search that their pretensions of this kind are false and groundless, and that the methods of administering consolation, which are peculiar to that Church, are as well unsafe and deceitful, as singular and unnecessary, then the same prudence and sincerity will oblige a man to suspect that communion, instead of becoming a proselyte to it, and to look upon the aforesaid boastings as the effect either of designed imposture, or at the least of ignorance and delusion.

Amongst other things, that Church highly values itself upon the sacrament of penance (as they call it), and as deeply blames and condemns the Church of England, and other Reformed Churches, for their defect in, and neglect of, so important and comfortable an office. And under that specious pretext, her emissaries (who are wont, according to the phrase of the Apos-

tle, "to creep into houses, and lead captive silly women," &c. insinuate themselves into such of the people as have more zeal than knowledge, and now and then wheedle some of them over into their society. To that purpose, they will not only harangue them with fine stories of the ease and benefit of it, as of an ancient and useful rite, but will also preach to them the necessity of it, as of Divine institution, and that it is as important (in its kind) as baptism or the Lord's supper. For that confession to a priest, and his absolution thereupon obtained, is the only means appointed by God for the procuring of pardon of all mortal sins committed after baptism.

As for original sin, or whatsoever actual transgressions may have been committed before baptism,* all those they acknowledge to be washed away in that sacred laver. And for sins of infirmity or venial sins, these may be done away by several easy methods, by contrition alone (say some), nay by attrition alone† (say others), by habitual grace, says a third, &c. But for mortal sins committed after a man is admitted into the Church by baptism, for these there is no other door of mercy but the priest's lips, nor hath God appointed, or will admit of any other way of reconciliation than this, of confession to a priest, and his absolution.

This sacrament of penance therefore is called by them, *secunda tabula post naufragium*, the peculiar refuge of a lapsed Christian, the only sanctuary of a guilty conscience, the sole means of restoring such a person to peace of conscience, the favour of God, and the hopes of heaven. And withal, this method is held to be so sovereign and effectual a remedy, that it cures *toties, quoties*; and whatever a man's miscarriages have been, and how often soever repeated, if he do but as often resort to it, he shall return as pure and clean as when he first came from the font.

This ready and easy way (say they) hath God allowed men, of quitting all scores with himself, in the use of which they may have perfect peace in their consciences, and may think of the day of judgment without horror, having their case decided beforehand by God's deputy the priest, and their pardon ready to produce and plead at the tribunal of Christ.

What a mighty defect is it therefore in the Protestant Churches, who, wanting this sacrament, want the principal ministry of reconciliation? And who would not join himself

* Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 2. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 816. Lut. Par. 1672.]

† Vid. Becan. Tract. de Sacramentis in specie,

to the society of that Church, where this great case is so abundantly provided for? For if all this be true, he must be extremely fool-hardy, and deserve to perish, who will not be of that communion from whence the way to heaven is so very easy and obvious. No wonder therefore, I say, if not only the loose and vicious are fond of this communion, where they may sin and confess, and confess and sin again without any great danger; but it would be strange if the more virtuous and prudent also, did not out of mere caution think it became them to comply with this expedient. Forasmuch as there is no man who understands himself, but must be conscious of having committed sins since his baptism; and then for fear some of them should prove to be of a mortal nature, it will be his safest course to betake himself to this refuge, and consequently he will easily be drawn to that Church, where the only remedy of his disease is to be had.

But the best of it is, these things are sooner said than proved, and more easily fancied by silly people, than believed by those of discretion. And therefore there may be no culpable defect in the Reformed Churches, that they trust not to this remedy in so great a case. And as for the Church of England in particular, though she hath no fondness for mountebank medicines, as observing them to be seldom successful; yet she is not wanting in her care and compassion to the souls of those under her guidance, but expresseth as much tenderness of their peace and comfort, as the Church of Rome can pretend to. Indeed she hath not set up a confessor's chair in every parish, nor much less placed the priest in the seat of God Almighty, as thinking it safer, at least in ordinary cases, to remit men to the text of the written word of God, and to the public ministry thereof, for resolution of conscience, than to the secret oracle of a priest in a corner, and advises them rather to observe what God himself declares of the nature and guilt of sin, the aggravations or abatements of it, and the terms and conditions of pardon, than what a priest pronounces. But however this course doth not please the Church of Rome, for reasons best known to themselves, which, if we may guess at, the main seems to be this; they do not think it fit to let men be their own carvers, but lead them like children by the hand; my meaning is, they keep people as much in ignorance of the holy Scriptures as they can, locking that up for them in an unknown tongue. Now if they may not be trusted with those sacred records, so as to inform themselves of the terms

of the new covenant, the conditions of the pardon of sin, and salvation, it is then but reasonable that the priest should judge for them, and that they await their doom from his mouth. Yet I do not see why in a Protestant Church, where the whole religion is in the mother tongue, the Old and especially the New Testament constantly and conscientiously expounded, and the people allowed to search the Scriptures, and to see whether things be so or no ; I see not, I say, why in such a case the priest may not in great measure be excused the trouble of attending secret confessions, without danger to the souls of men.

But besides this, there is a constant use of confession and absolution too, in the Church of England, in every day's service ; which though they be both in general terms, as they ought to be in public worship, yet every penitent can both from his own conscience supply the generality of the confession by a remorseful reflection upon his own particular sins, as well as if he did it at the knees of a priest ; and also by an act of faith can apply the general sentence of absolution to his own soul, with as good and comfortable effects, as if it had been specially pronounced by his confessor.

But this public confession doth not please the Romanists neither, and they know a reason for their dislike ; namely, because this doth not conciliate so great a veneration to the priesthood, as when all men are brought to kneel to them for salvation : neither doth this way make them to pry into the secret thoughts of men, as auricular confession doth, wherein the priest is not only made a judge of men's estate, but a spy upon their behaviour, and is capable of becoming an intelligencer to his superiors of all the designs, interests, and even constitutions of the people.

Moreover, the Church of England allows of private confessions also, as particularly in the visitation of the sick (which office extends also to them that are troubled in mind or conscience, as well as to the afflicted in body), where the minister is directed to examine particularly the state of the decumbent's soul, to search and romage his conscience, to try his faith, his repentance, his charity, nay, to move him to make a special confession of his sins, and afterwards to absolve him upon just grounds.

Nay, further yet, if (besides the case of sickness) any man shall either out of perplexity of mind, scrupulosity or remorse of conscience, or any other devout consideration, think it

needful to apply himself to a priest of the Church of England for advice, ease, or relief, he hath encouragement and direction so to do, in the first exhortation to the holy communion, and may be sure to find those who will tenderly and faithfully, as well as secretly administer to his necessities. So that I see not what defect or omission can be objected to this Church in all this affair, or what temptation any man can have upon this account, to go from us to the Church of Rome.

But all this will not satisfy them of the Church of Rome; they are neither contented with public confession, nor with private, nor with secret neither, if it be only occasional or voluntary: it is the universality and necessity of it which they insist upon, for it is not with them a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, to prevent the scandal of the society, to conserve the reverence of the Church, or to restrain men from sinning, or much less an office of expediency and prudence to be resorted to upon exigencies, or such as may accidentally become necessary upon emergency, as suppose upon the atrocity of some fact committed, the scandalousness of some person's former life, which may make him more doubtful of his pardon, the weakness of his judgment, the melancholy of his temper, or the anxiety of his mind, or any such-like occasion, but it must be the standing indispensable duty of all men, as the condition of the pardon of their sins; in one word, it must be a sacrament of divine institution, and of universal obligation.

For so the Council of Trent determines, Sess. 4. Canon 1: *Si quis dixerit, in Ecclesia catholica pœnitentiam non esse vere et proprie sacramentum pro fidelibus, quoties post baptismum in peccata labentur, ipsi Deo reconciliandis a Domino nostro institutum, Anathema sit; i. e.* Let him be accursed, who shall affirm that penance is not truly and properly a sacrament, instituted and appointed in the universal Church, by our Lord Christ himself, for the reconciling those Christians to the Divine Majesty, who have fallen into sin after their baptism.

And in the doctrinal part of that decree they teach and assert more particularly; First, that our Saviour instituted this sacrament expressly, John xx. 22.

2. That this sacrament consists of two parts,* *viz.* the matter and the form; the matter of the sacrament (or *quasi materia*, as they cautiously speak) is the act or acts of the penitent, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; the form of it is the act of the priest in these words, *Absolvo te.*

* Sess. 14. cap. 2. [ut supra, p. 816, 817.]

3. That therefore it is the duty of every man* who hath fallen after baptism, as aforesaid, to confess his sins at least once a year to a priest.

4. That this confession is to be secret; for public confession they say is neither commanded nor expedient.†

5. That this confession of mortal sin be very exact and particular,‡ together with all circumstances, especially such as *speciem facti mutant*, alter the kind or degree of sin, and that it extend to the most secret sins, even of thought, or against the ninth and tenth commandment.§

6. That the penitent thus doing, the absolution|| of the priest hereupon pronounced is not conditional or declarative only, but absolute and judicial.

Now in opposition to this doctrine and decree of theirs, and the practice of that Church pursuant thereof, as well as in defence of the doctrine and practice of the Church of England in that particular, I will here endeavour to make good these three things.

1. That our blessed Lord and Saviour hath neither in his Gospel instituted such an auricular confession as aforesaid, nor much less such a sacrament of penance as the Church of Rome supposes in the recited decree.

2. That auricular confession hath not been of constant and universal use in the Christian Church, as the Romanists pretend, much less looked upon as of sacramental and necessary obligation.

3. That auricular confession, as it is now used in the Church of Rome, is not only unnecessary and burdensome, but in many respects very mischievous to piety, and the great ends of Christian religion.

If the first of these appear to be true, then (at the worst) the want of such an auricular confession in the Reformed Churches, can be but an irregularity, and no essential defect.

If the second of these assertions be made good, then it can be no defect at all in those Churches that use not such a rite, but a novelty and imposition on their parts who so strictly require it.

But if the third be true, it will be the corruption and great fault of the Church of Rome to persevere in the injunction and practice of it, and the excellency and commendation of those Churches which exclude it.

* Cap. 3. [Ibid.]

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

† Cap. 5. [Ibid. p. 818.]

|| Cap. 6. [Ibid. p. 819.]

I begin with the first, that it doth not appear that our Saviour hath instituted such an auricular confession, of such a sacrament of penance as the Church of Rome pretends and practises.

I confess it is a negative which I here undertake to make good, which is accounted a difficult province, but the Council of Trent hath relieved us in that particular, by founding the institution expressly upon that one passage of the Gospel, John xx. 22. So that we shall not need to examine the whole body of Scripture, to discover what footsteps of Divine institution may be found here or there: for the Council wholly insists and relies upon that text of St. John, and therefore if that fail them, the whole hypothesis falls to the ground.

Now for the clearing of this, let us lay the words before us; and they are these, “ He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.”

Now here I appeal to any man that hath eyes in his head, or ears to hear, whether in this text there be any one word of auricular confession, or much less of such a circumstantiated one as they require; and this is so manifest and notorious, that their own ancient canonists, and several of their learned divines, are ashamed of the pretence of Divine institution founded upon this or any other passage of Scripture; and therefore are content to defend the practice of the Church of Rome in this particular, upon the account of the authority and general usage of the Church; which we shall come to examine by and by in its due place.

In the mean time I cannot choose but admire the mighty faith of a Romanist, who can believe in spite of his own eyes. It seemed to us an insuperable difficulty heretofore, for a man to persuade himself, that in the sacrament of the eucharist bread was transubstantiated into flesh, because it was against the express testimony of sense; yea, although for that there was the countenance of five figurative (but mistaken) words to support the credulity; but this of the sacrament of penance clearly outdoes it, for here a man must believe a thing to be, when as there is not so much as one word for the ground of his faith, or the proof of the thing in question. How many sacraments may not such men have, if they please? What voluminous creeds may not they swallow and digest? What mountains may not such a wonderful faith remove?

But let us hear what they have to say for themselves; per-

haps in the first place they will plead the authority of the Council of Trent, which hath peremptorily determined the sense of the passage of the Gospel to the purpose aforesaid. Indeed that Council, in the third Canon of their fourteenth session, doth damn all those who deny that a sacrament of penance and auricular confession is prescribed in that text of St. John, or who apply it to any other purpose. But in so doing, they both usurp a prerogative which was never pretended to, or practised by any Council before them, and withal they betray a consciousness, that the text itself yielded no sufficient evidence of the thing which they designed to countenance by it ; for what Councils (ever till now) brought a text, and then imposed an interpretation upon it contrary to the words? And then backed that interpretation with an anathema? If the text were plain, or could be made so, why was not that done? And to be sure if that cannot be done by other means, the curse will not do it ; at least to any but very obedient Roman consciences. Besides, if this course be allowed, I see not but a Council may bring in what religion they please, having first made a nose of wax of the Holy Scriptures, and then writhed it into what shape they best fancy ; for in such a case, if the words of the Gospel do not favour me, I can govern the sense, and if the letter be silent or intractable, I can help that with an interpretation ; and if I have authority or confidence enough to impose that, under the peril of *anathema*, I am no longer an interpreter or judge, but a law-giver, and need not trouble myself with *Scriptum est*, but may (if I will speak plain) say *decretum est*, and the business is done.

But if neither the letter of Scripture, nor the authority of a Council will do in this case, then in the second place they think they have at least some colour of reason to relieve them ; and if they cannot find auricular confession in the text, yet they will by consequence infer it thence ; for they say, although indeed it is true, it is not here expressly mentioned, yet it is certain that our Saviour in the text before us instituted a sacrament of penance, and therefore auricular confession must necessarily be implied, because absolution cannot be without confession.

Here the reader will observe, that the point in question between us is very much altered ; for we are now fallen from the consideration of the Divine institution of auricular confession in particular, to that of a sacrament of penance in

general, *i. e.* from a direct proof to a *subintelligitur*. But we will follow them hither also, and for the clearing of this matter we will briefly consider these three things.

1. Whether that can properly be said to be of Divine institution, and necessary to salvation, which depends on an inference, and is proved only by an innuendo ?

2. Whether it can be reasonable to assert, that our Saviour there institutes a sacrament of penance, where not only auricular confession, but the whole matter of such a sacrament is left undefined ?

3. Whether if our Saviour (had done that which it is plain he hath not, that is) had here instituted and appointed all those things, which by the Church of Rome are required as the material parts of penance, yet this could have been esteemed a sacrament ?

1. For the first of these, we have no more to do but to consider the force and signification of this word *institution*. Now that in the common use of men (especially of those which speak distinctly and understandingly) implies a setting up *de novo*, or the appointing that to become a duty, which was not knowable, or at least not known to be so, before it became so appointed. For this word *institution* is that which we use to express a positive command by, in opposition to that which is moral in the strictest sense, and of natural obligation. Now it is very evident, that all things of this nature ought to be appointed very plainly and expressly, or else they can carry no obligation with them ; for seeing the whole reason of their becoming matter of law or duty lies in the will of the legislator, if that be not plainly discovered, they cannot be said to be instituted, and so there can be no obligation to observe them, because where there is no law there can be no transgression ; and a law is no law in effect, which is not sufficiently promulgated. Is it not therefore a very strange thing, to tell us of an institution by implication only, and yet at the same time to tell us, that the matter so (pretended to be) instituted,* is no less than absolutely necessary to the salvation of sinners ?

2. The second of these will easily be resolved† by considering what we observed before from the Council of Trent, *viz.* that this sacrament of penance consists of matter and form; the form is the priest's absolution, but the matter or materials of this sacrament are contrition, confession to a priest, and satisfaction or performance of the penance enjoined by him. Now

* Sess. 14. c. 2. [Ibid. p. 816.]

† Sess. 14. c. 3. [Ibid.]

it is evident, that not only auricular confession (of which we have spoken hitherto), but also contrition and satisfaction are wholly admitted and passed over in silence by the Evangelist in this passage of Scripture, from whence they fetch their sacrament of penance ; and is it not a wonderful strange thing that our Saviour should be supposed to institute a sacrament without any materials of it at all ? Surely therefore this must be either a very spiritual sacrament, or none at all.

Let us guess at the probability of this, in proportion to either of the other undoubted sacraments. Suppose our Saviour, instead of that accurate form in which he instituted the eucharist, had only said, I would have you, my disciples, and all that shall believe on my name, to keep a memorial of me when I am gone. Or suppose he said only as he doth, John vi. 55 : " My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," would any one have concluded here, that our Saviour in so saying had appointed bread and wine to be consecrated, to be received in such a manner, and in a word that he had (without more ado) instituted such a sacrament as we usually celebrate ? No certainly, and therefore we see our Saviour is the most express and particular therein that can be ; for he takes bread, blesses it, breaks it, gives it to them, saying, " Take, eat ; this is my body," &c. and after supper he takes the cup, blesses it, gives it to them, saying, " Drink ye all of this ; for this is the new testament in my blood," &c. and then adds, " Do this in remembrance of me." Now who is there that observes this accuracy of our Saviour in the eucharist, can imagine that he should intend to institute a sacrament of penance, and that as necessary to salvation (in the opinion of the Romanists) as the other, only with this form of words, " Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted," &c. and without the least mention of confession, contrition, or any other material or necessary part or circumstance of it.

3. But in the third and last place, let us suppose that our Saviour had in the text before us instituted penance, and had appointed particularly all those things which they call the material parts of it (as it is evident he hath not), yet even then and upon that supposition, penance would not have proved to be a sacrament properly so called.

I confess, according to a loose acceptance of the word *sacrament*, something may be said for it ; for so there are many things have had the name of sacrament applied to them. Tertullian somewhere calls Elisha's axe the sacrament of

wood, and in his book against Marcion he styles the whole Christian religion a sacrament. St. Austin in several places calls bread, fish, the rock, and the mystery of number, sacraments, for he hath given us a general rule, in his fifth epistle, *viz.* that all signs, when they belong to divine things, are called sacraments. And in consideration hereof it is acknowledged by Cassander, that the number of sacraments was indefinite in the Church of Rome itself, until the times of Peter Lombard. But all this notwithstanding, and properly speaking, this rite of penance, taking it altogether (and even supposing whatsoever the Romanists can suppose to belong to it), cannot be reputed a sacrament, according to the allowed definitions of a sacrament delivered by their own divines. Some of them define a sacrament thus,* *Sacramentum est corporale elementum foris sensibiliter propositum, ex similitudine representans et ex institutione significans, et ex sanctificatione continens invisibilem gratiam.* And the Master of the Sentences† himself describes it somewhat more briefly, but to the same effect, in these words: *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma, ejusdem gratiae imaginem gerens et causa existens;* both which definitions are acknowledged and applauded by the Jesuit Becanus:‡ and the plain truth is, a sacrament cannot be better expressed in so few words, than it is by St. Austin,§ when he calls it *verbum visible*, a visible word or gospel. For it hath pleased the Divine Wisdom and Goodness by this institution of sacraments, to condescend to our weakness, and thereby to give us sensible tokens or pledges of what he had promised in his written word, to the intent that our dulness might be relieved, and our faith assisted; forasmuch as herein our eyes and other senses, as well as our ears, are made witnesses of his gracious intentions. Thus by baptismal washing he gives us a sensible token and representation of our regeneration, and the washing away of our sins by the blood of Christ; and by the participation of bread and wine in the Lord's supper, we have a token and symbol of our union with Christ, our friendship with God, and communion with each other.

But now it is manifest there is no such thing as this in their sacrament of penance (as Bellarmine himself confesses).

* Hugo de S. Vict. lib. de Sacramen.

|| Magist. Sent. lib. 4. dist. 1.

‡ Becanus Tract. 2. de Sacramentis

§ Aug. e. Faust. lib. 19. c. 16. [vol. 8. p. 321. Par. 1688.]

For they do not say or mean, that the absolution of the priest is a token or emblem of God's forgiveness, but that the priest actually pardons in God's stead, by virtue of a power delegated to him. So that, according to them, here must be a sacrament, not only without any material parts instituted, but also without any thing figurative, symbolical or significative; which seems to be as expressly contrary to their own doctrine in the aforesaid definitions, as to the truth itself.

Nay, further to evince the difference of this rite of penance from all other proper sacraments: it deserves observation, that whereas in those other acknowledged sacraments, the priest in God's name delivers to us the pledges and symbols of divine grace; here in this of penance we must bring all the material parts and pledges ourselves, and present them to God, or to the priest in his stead. My meaning is, that whereas (for instance) in baptism the priest applies to us the symbol of water, and in the eucharist delivers to us the consecrated elements in token of the divine grace; contrariwise here in penance we must on our parts bring with us contrition, confession, and satisfaction too, in which respect we may be rather said to give pledges to God, than he to us; which is widely different from the nature of other sacraments, and seems no less to be contrary to the reason and notion of a sacrament in general.

The sum of what we have hitherto discoursed amounts to this: First, that here is no auricular confession instituted by our Saviour, John xx. 22, as was pretended. Secondly, nor any sacrament of penance in which it can be included or implied; no nor indeed any sacrament at all.

I confess I might have spared all the words I have used in proving the latter; for so long as I have made appear that private confession is not instituted, it was not so very material to consider, whether penance could be a sacrament or no: but this I added to shew the imperious dictates of that Church, and their extravagancy in imposing the most sacred names upon their own inventions, thereby to give them the greater veneration with the people.

And thus I would dismiss the first part of my undertaking; but yet the Romanists will not forego their pretensions for auricular confession; for they will yet urge, that whether or no we will call it a sacrament which our Saviour institutes in the text before us, it is however certain, here is a power conferred on the Apostles, and their successors, of remitting and

retaining sins ; for by these words, “ Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted,” &c.* our Saviour hath made the priest a judge of men’s consciences and conditions ;† wherefore that he may not proceed blindly and indiscriminately, it is necessary that he know the merits of the cause, and not only understand the matter of fact, but all the circumstances which may aggravate or extenuate it ; all which cannot be attained without the confession of the party ; therefore auricular confession is as necessarily implied in the text, as absolution or retention of sins is expressed in it. So they.

But I crave leave to demand, in the first place, is it certain that upon such a confession as they require, the priest (as such) will be able to make a right judgment of a man’s case that addresses himself to him, especially considering the intricacy of some cases, and the ignorance of some priests ? Upon this account are those memorable words of St. Austin, *Confess.* lib. 10. c. 3 : *Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos, et unde sciunt, cum a meipso de meipso audiunt, an verum dicam ? Quando quidem nemo scit hominum quid agitur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est : i. e.* “ To what purpose should I confess my sins to men who cannot heal my wounds ? For how shall they (who know nothing of my heart but by my own confession) know whether I say true or no ? For no one knows what is in man, but the spirit of man that is in him.” O yes, they will say, *clave non errante*, that is to say, if he judge right he judges right, and no more ; and this is mighty comfort to a distressed conscience.

Secondly, Though we grant our Saviour hath given the priest authority to remit and retain sins, yet how doth it appear that this extends to secret sins ; sins in thought only, or, as the Council expresses it, against the ninth and tenth commandments ? Of open sins and public scandals the Church hath cognisance, and hath a right which she may insist upon, or recede from, if she see cause, because such sins are an injury to the society, as well as an offence against God ; and therefore here the officers of the Church may dispense her authority, and remit or retain (as we shall see more by and by) ;

* Christus constituit Sacerdotes sui ipsius Vicarios. Sess. 14. [c. 5. ut supra, p. 818.] Presides et Judices, Ib. c. 4. [5.]

† Sacerdos solvit peccata potestate quadam præatoria, Bellar. lib. 1. de Sacram. [Poenitent.] c. 10. [vol. 3. p. 520. Prag. 1721.] Christus ratam habet sententiam à Sacerdote latam. Id. lib. 3. c. 2. [Ibid. p. 583. col. 1.]

but in secret sins, where only God is injured, and to which he is only privy, what hath the Church to do, unless they be voluntarily discovered to her? Otherwise they are properly cases reserved to the tribunal of God.

Thirdly, I would be bold to inquire further, why may not sins, especially such as we last named, be remitted upon confession to God, without confession to the priest also? And I the rather ask this for these two reasons; first, I observe that this very Council of Trent saith,* "that until the times of our Saviour, and his institution of this sacrament, sins were remitted upon contrition only, and application to the mercies of God, without auricular confession." They cannot therefore now say, remission implies this confession, for that cannot be said to be implied in the nature of a thing, when the thing itself can be had without it.

They will answer, that it is sufficient that it is now made necessary by our Saviour. But I reply, then that institution which now makes it necessary, must be better proved than yet it hath been, or else men will be very apt to hope they may now under the Gospel obtain pardon (at least) upon as easy terms as it was to be had at before.

My second reason of asking that third question is this:† I observe that their own Schoolmen acknowledge sins to be remitted under the Gospel by the priest, without any confession to men, particularly in the administration of baptism; by which it plainly appears, that confession is not implied in the nature of remission, but one may be had without the other; and then why may not a sinner after baptism hope for pardon upon his contrite and devout application to the word and sacraments, without this new device and pick-lock of conscience, auricular confession?

But so much for that.

* *Sect. 3.* I proceed now to the second thing propounded, namely, to inquire historically whether or no auricular, or such a secret and sacramental confession, as aforesaid, hath been of constant and universal use in the Christian Church, as the Romanists pretend, and as the Council of Trent asserts, *Sess. 14. chap. xxv.*

This inquiry is not into matter of law or divine right, as the former was, but of fact only, yet nevertheless it is of great moment upon a double account:

* *Sess. 14. c. 1. [ut supra, p. 816.]*

† *Aquinas Summ. part. 3. Q. 68. [Art. 6. vol. 24. p. 348. Venet. 1787.]*

1. Because this is the ground which the old Roman canonists wholly went upon (as I noted before) ; they exploded all pretence of Divine institution in the case, as having more modesty (it seems) than to pretend so high upon no better evidence, or at least they contented themselves to prescribe for it only upon the authority of constant and universal practice ; now if we shew the falseness of this ground, as well as of the other, then will their hypothesis of auricular confession have no foot to stand upon.

2. Because the credit of what hath been already said under the former head, doth very much depend upon this, and that discourse will be confirmed or impaired respectively to what shall be evidently made out in this second point. Forasmuch as if on the one side it be made apparent, that such a rite hath been of constant use in the Christian Church, it will afford a great presumption that it took its rise at first from Divine institution, notwithstanding all we have offered to the contrary. So on the other side, if the evidence here answer not the pretension, and no sufficient footsteps of constant and universal practice appear : then will all that which we have hitherto discoursed, be greatly strengthened and confirmed ; because it is by no means probable, that if there had been a Divine law in the case, that such a thing would have been generally neglected by the Christian Church.

Now for the clearing of this, though I am here only upon the defensive, and so bound to no more than to examine the proofs which the Romanists bring for their pretensions ; yet I will deal ingenuously, as seeking not to find flaws, but to discover the truth, and therefore give these instances as so many reasons for the negative.

In the first place, I crave leave to premise this : if auricular confession were so great a Gospel mystery, so wonderfully efficacious a method of saving souls, as to be typified in the law (as the Romanists teach), as well as instituted in the Gospel, and practised by the whole Church, one might seem justly to wonder how it comes to pass, that there should be no mention nor appearance of it in the whole course of our Saviour's ministry ? He used to be an example, as well as a lawgiver to the Church ; he washed his disciples' feet before he enjoined them to wash one another ; he exemplified the other sacraments before he prescribed his Apostles to administer them ; and one would have thought such an instance of his example had been more necessary in this business of penance,

rather than any other, if it had been but to make way for the understanding of so obscure an institution ; since, especially, one would have thought to find some traces of this in the ministry of our Saviour, because he daily conversed with sinners ; he reproved them, instructed them, healed them, pardoned them, but never brought any of them to such a confession as we are treating of ; *viz.* to a particular enumeration of their sins with the circumstances, nor upon so doing formally absolved them. His very disciples (some of which had been great sinners) were admitted without it ; the woman of Samaria was told by him all that ever she did, but she was not brought on her knees to make her own confession ; but most strange of all it is, that the woman taken in adultery, when he had made her accusers slink away, was not privately brought to it ; it may be they will say, there was no need of confession to him who knew all before ; but yet it might have been necessary to bring these sinners to be ashamed of themselves, by that means to work repentance, and fit them for pardon, at least if this method had been of such mighty use and wonderful necessity as is pretended.

2. But to let pass that ; in the next place it is matter of wonder, that nothing of this practice appears in the ministry of the Apostles ; they went about preaching the Gospel, calling men to repentance, erecting and governing Churches, but never set themselves down in a confessor's chair for penitents, secretly to tell them in their ear, the story of their vicious lives ; indeed we read, *Acts xix. 18*, that some came in and shewed their deeds ; but first it was voluntarily, and in a fit of holy zeal, for we cannot find that they were required to do it, as of sacramental obligation ; and besides, the confession was public before the Church, not clangular, and whispered in secret ; it is true also that *St. James, chap. v. 16*, advises the Christians to confess their faults one to another (which is made a mighty evidence in this case) ; but it is as true, that this was spoken in an extraordinary case, as appears *ver. 14*. In bodily sickness and distress of conscience, they are advised to lay open their condition, in order to relief and succour by the more ardent and affectionate prayers of those who should be made privy to it ; but it is not made a standing and universal rule for all men to comply with, whether they be sick or well, in prosperity or adversity, perplexed or quiet in their consciences, much less of sacramental and necessary obligation, as in the Roman Church.

3. Let us go on in the next ages after the Apostles; for about 200 years we find not one word of this kind of confession, which we inquire for. Indeed the writings of that time, which are extant, are not many; but if this business had been of such consequence as is pretended, it is strange that these holy men Ignatius, Clemens, and Justin Martyr, should not have any mention of it.

Indeed, Bellarmine brings us one instance within this period, and that is from Irenæus, who, speaking of certain women who had been abused by Marcion the heretic, saith they afterwards came and confessed all, with shame and sorrow, to the Church. But what is this to the purpose? We dispute not against public confession, which is acknowledged to be truly primitive, and we wish it had been constantly maintained in after ages; it is only the necessity of clangular confession that we are unsatisfied in, and this passage speaks nothing at all to that case.

4. In Tertullian's time, which was also much about 200 years after our Saviour, we find great things said of confession, but it is of that which was public, and in the face of the Church, not to a priest in a corner; and this indeed was greatly encouraged and required by the holy men of those times, as that which in the case of open and scandalous sins, freed the Church both from the guilt, and from the reproach of them, and in the case of secret sins, was a means (by open shame) to bring men to repentance, and so to pardon. And the confession was principally directed to God, who was the person offended by the sin; yet it was made before men, to raise a fervency in their prayers, as is noted before, and to obtain their effectual intercession with God on behalf of the penitent. This that ancient writer makes manifest to be his sense, in his book *de Pœnitentia* in these words, *Plerumque vero jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lachrymari, et mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum tuum, Presbyteris advolvi, et (or rather charis) dei ad geniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes suæ deprecationis injungere, hæc omnia exomologesis ut pœnitentiam commendet, &c.* “the penitent often joins fasting to his prayers, weeps, wails and moans night and day before God, casts himself at the feet of the priests, kneels to all holy people, and entreats all the brethren to be his intercessors with God Almighty for his pardon: this is penitential confession,” &c. And in his *Apology* more plainly: * *Coimus in*

* Tertull. *Apol.* c. 39. [p. 31. Par. 1695.]

Cætum, &c. Ibidem exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina: nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communione, &c. relegateatur; “we have (saith he) in our ecclesiastical assemblies, a spiritual judicature, and with great gravity censure offenders,” &c. But I need say no more of this, for we have the testimony of Beatus Rhenanus, one of the Roman Church, and of great insight into ecclesiastical affairs,* who gives us this account of Tertullian and his times, *nihil illum de clancularia illa pœnitentia loqui, quæ id temporis penitus ignorabatur;* “there was no such thing as secret or clancular confession in use in Tertullian’s time, which was a thing not so much as known by the Christian Church in those days.”

5. To go a little lower; such was the manner of proceedings in St. Cyprian’s time,† as he himself describes it: the sinner by outward gestures and tokens shewed himself to be sorrowful and penitent for his sin, and then made humble confession thereof before the whole congregation, and desired all the brethren to pray for him; which done, the bishop and clergy laid their hands upon him, and so reconciled him; so it was also in Origen’s time;‡ and once for all, to deliver the custom of the Church in those times, touching this particular,§ I will add the words of the historian, *Rei ad terram se pronos abiciunt, &c.* “they that are conscious to themselves to have offended, fall down flat upon the ground with weeping and lamentations in the church; on the other side the bishop runs to them with tears in his eyes, and falls down to the ground also in token of sorrow and compassion, and the whole congregation in the mean time sympathizing with both, is overwhelmed with tears,” &c.

6. If we go lower yet, to the times of St. Chrysostom|| and St. Austin, we find those holy men speaking very slightly of confessions to men, so little did they think of auricular confession being a sacrament. St. Austin’s judgment in the case we have heard before, in the tenth book of his *Confessions*, and third chapter; and for the other, the testimonies out of

* Beatus Rhenan. in præf. ad Tertull. de Pœnitent. [Franc. 1597.]

† St. Cyprian, lib. 3. Ep. 15. [Ep. 10. p. 51. Venet. 1728.]

‡ Origen in Psal. 37. [vol. 2. p. 685, &c. Par. 1733.]

§ Sozomen, lib. 7. cap. 16. [p. 229, &c. Cantab. 1720.]

|| St. Chrysost. ad Hebr. Homil. 31. [vol. 12. p. 289, 290. Par. 1735.]

Id. in Serm. de Confess. et Pœnit. &c.

him are so many, and so well known, that I cannot think it necessary to transcribe them ; and as for St. Jerome who lived about the same time, I think it sufficient to repeat the account of Erasmus, who was very conversant in his writings, and indeed of all the other Fathers, and who had no other fault I know of, but that he did use *Mordaci radere vero*, to be too great a tell-truth; which sure will not invalidate his testimony ; his words are these, *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem.* — *Verum in hoc labuntur theologi quidam parum attenti, quod quæ veteres scribunt de publica et generali confessione, ea trahunt ad occultam et longe diversi generis, i. e.* “It is evident (saith he) that in St. Jerome’s time (which was about 400 years after our Saviour), there was no such thing as secret confession in use ; but the mistake is that some few later and inconsiderate divines have taken the instances of general and public confession then practised, for arguments of that auricular confession which is now used, though quite of a different nature from it.”

Thus we have traced the current of antiquity for four or five hundred years, to search for the head of this Nilus, the source and rise of that kind of confession which is so highly magnified by the Church of Rome, but hitherto we have found nothing of it ; and this methinks should be sufficient to stagger an impartial inquirer (at least it is as much as can be expected in so short a treatise as this is intended to be), and may satisfy the unprejudicate, that there is as little of antiquity to favour this rite, as there is of Divine institution to be pleaded for it. But yet I know on the other side, that the Romanists pretend to bring abundance of testimonies for it, and Bellarmine particularly goes from century to century with his citations, to prescribe for the constant and uninterrupted use of it ; but I do sincerely think, that these four following short observations will enable a man to answer them all.

1. I observe, that whereas this word *exomologesis* is commonly used by divers of the Fathers, as the phrase whereby they intend to express the whole nature of repentance in all the parts and branches of it, as is evident by the passages I cited out of Tertullian *de Pœnit.* even now, and is acknowledged by Bellarmine himself ; nevertheless, merely because that word signifies confession properly, and nothing else, these Romish sophisters, where they find this word *exomologesis*, force it into an argument for that confession, which they contend for ; and so

several discourses of the Fathers, concerning repentance in general, are made to be nothing but exhortations to or encomiums of confession in particular, and that must be nothing else neither but auricular confession, the thing in question. A cast of his skill in this way, Bellarmine gives us in *Irenaeus*, the very first author he cites for auricular confession, in the last quoted book and chapter of his writings *De Sacramentis*.

2. Whereas the Novatians excluded sinners from all hopes of repentance or pardon for sins committed after baptism, but the true Church contrariwise admitted to hopes of pardon upon their repentance; upon this occasion, when some of the Fathers justly magnify the advantages and comfortableness of the true Church above the schismatical, as that it set open a door of hope to those who confessed their sins, and applied themselves to her ministry: hence these witty men will persuade the world, that every true Church had a confessor's chair, and such a formal way of pardoning as they now practise at Rome; as if there was no remission of sin, where there was no auricular confession, and as if all that excluded the latter, rejected the former too, and were no better than Novatian heretics; when as in truth the power of the keys is exercised in all the ministries of the Church, and she pardons and retains sins, otherwise than by the oracle of a particular confessor, as we have seen already. This piece of juggling the same Bellarmine* is also guilty of, in his citation of Lactantius.

3. Whereas the ancient writers are much in the commendation of confession of sins, whether it be to God or to the Church, but generally intending that which is public: it is common with those of the Church of Rome, to lay hold of all such sayings as were intended to persuade to, and encourage public confessions, and to apply them to auricular or clancular confessions; thus particularly the aforesaid author does by Tertullian† in his citation of him.

4. And lastly, Whereas it is also true, that several of those holy men of old, do in some cases very much recommend confession of secret sins, and persuade some sorts of men to the use of it, namely those that are in great perplexity of conscience, and that needed ghostly counsel and advice, or to the intent that they might obtain the assistance of the Church's prayers, and make them the more ardent and effectual on their behalf; whereas I say, they recommended this as an expression of zeal,

* Bellarm. de Poenit. lib. 3. cap. 8. [Vol. 3. Prag. 1721.]

† Id. lib. 3. cap. 6. [Ibid.]

or a prudent expedient, or at most as necessary only in some cases *pro hic et nunc*. These great patrons of auricular confession do, with their usual artifice, apply all these passages, to prove it to be a standing and universally necessary duty, a law to all Christians ; this is a very common fault amongst them, and particularly St. Cyprian is thus misapplied by the same forementioned writer, lib. 3. cap. 7.

Hitherto inquiring into the most ancient and purest times of the Church, by the writings of the Fathers of those times, we have not been able to discover any sufficient ground for such an auricular confession, as the Church of Rome pretends to, much less for a constant and uninterrupted succession of it.* But now, after all, I must acknowledge there is a passage in ecclesiastical history, which seems to promise us satisfaction herein, and therefore must by no means be slightly passed over without due consideration ; it is the famous story of Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, and predecessor to St. Chrysostom, which happened some thing less than 400 years after our Saviour.

The story, as it is related by the joint testimony of Socrates and Sozomen, runs thus : in the time of this Nectarius there was (it seems) a custom in that church (as also in most others) that one of the presbyters of greatest piety, wisdom, and gravity, should be chosen penitentiary, that is, be appointed to the peculiar office of receiving confessions, and to assist and direct the penitents in the management of their repentance : now it happens that a certain woman of quality, stricken with remorse of conscience, comes to the penitentiary (that then was), and according to custom, makes a particular confession of all such sins, as she was conscious to herself to have committed since her baptism ; for which he, according to his office, appointed her the penance of fasting, and continual prayers to expiate her guilt, and give proof of the truth of her repentance. But she proceeding on very particularly in her confessions, at last amongst other things comes to declare, that a certain deacon of that church had lien with her ; upon notice of which horrid fact, the deacon is forthwith cashiered and cast out of the church : by which means the miscarriage takes air, and coming to the knowledge of the people, they presently fall into a mighty commotion and rage about it, partly in detestation of so foul an act of the deacon, but principally in contemplation of the dishonour, and scandal thereby reflected on the whole

* Socrat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 19. [p. 286, &c. Cantab. 1720.] Sozomen. lib 7. cap. 16. [ut supra.]

Church. The Bishop finding the honour of the whole body of his clergy extremely concerned in this accident, and being very anxious what to do in this case, at last, by the counsel of one Eudæmon a presbyter of that church, he resolves thenceforth to abolish the office of penitentiary, both to extinguish the present flame, and to prevent the like occasion for the future ; and now by this means every man is left to the conduct of his own conscience, and permitted to partake of the holy mysteries at his own peril. This is the matter of fact faithfully rendered from the words of the historian ; but this, if we take it in the gross, and look no further than so, will not do much towards the deciding of the present controversy : we will therefore examine things a little more narrowly by the help of such hints as those writers afford us ; perhaps we may make good use of it at last ; and to this purpose—

1. I observe in the first place, that though at the first blush here seems to be an early and great example of that auricular confession which we oppose, forasmuch as here is not only the order of the Church of Constantinople, for confession to a priest, but that to be of all sins committed after baptism, and this to be made to him in secret ; notwithstanding upon a more thorough view it will appear quite another thing from that pleaded for, and practised by the Church of Rome, and that especially in the respects fullowing : First, In the auricular confession in the story, there is some remainder of the ancient discipline of the Church (whose confessions used to be open and public, as I have shewed), in that here a public officer is appointed by the Church to receive them, such an one as whose prudence and learning, and piety she could confide in for a business of so great nicety and difficulty ; and it is neither left to the penitent to choose his confidant for his confessor, nor at large for every priest to represent the authority of the Church in so ticklish an affair as that of discipline, but to a public officer appointed by the Church for this purpose ; so that confession to him cannot be said to be private, seeing it is done to the whole Church by him. To confirm which, secondly, this penitentiary it seems was bound (as there was occasion) to discover the matters (opened to him in secret), to the Church, as appears in the crime of the deacon in the story ; there was no pretence of a seal of confession in this case, as in the Church of Rome, by virtue of which a man may confess and go on to sin again secretly, without danger of being brought upon the stage, whatsoever the atrocity of his crime be, and

indeed without any effectual course in order to his repentance and reformation. Again, thirdly, this confession in the story doth not pretend to be of absolute necessity, as if a man's sins might not be pardoned without it; but only a prudent provision of the Church to help men forward in their repentance, to direct the acts and expressions of it, and especially to relieve perplexed and weak consciences, and to assist them in their preparations for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and this appears, amongst other things, by the account which the historian gives us of the consequence of abolishing it, *viz.* that now every man is left to his own conscience about his partaking of the holy mysteries; but it is not said or intimated that he was left under the guilt of his sins, for want of confession. To which add, in the last place, that this office, whatever it was, was not reputed a sacrament, but rather, as I noted before, an expedient to prepare men for it; for doubtless neither that bishop, nor that church would ever have consented to the abolition of a sacrament, for the sake of such a scandal as happened in the mismanagement of it; or if they had done so, much less can it be imagined that the greatest part of the Christian Church would have concurred with them in it, as we shall see by and by they did.

2. I observe concerning the beginning of this penitentiary office, the time and occasion of this usage; namely, that the historians do not pretend it to have been apostolical, much less of strictly divine institution, but they lay the height of its first rise about the time of the Decian persecution, which was about 200 years after our Saviour. I confess* Nicephorus would persuade us of its greater antiquity, and that it was rather revived than instituted at that time; for he, speaking of the bringing it into use at the Decian persecution, saith, ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι ἐπόμενος, *i. e.* the Church pursuant of the ancient ecclesiastical canons constituted a penitentiary, &c. And Petavius is so addicted to the Roman hypothesis, as very unreasonably to favour this conceit; but the truth seems to be (as Valesius very ingenuously acknowledges) only this; that here was a mistake of the import of the words of the historian, who saith only, that when the Church had chosen their penitentiary κανόνι προσέθεσαν, they added him to the canon, that is to the number of those in the *matricula*, or roll of such as were to be maintained in, and by the church; or as we would say, they made him canon of

* Nicephor. lib. 12. cap. 28. [vol. 2. p. 279. Lut. Par. 1630.]

the church ; not that he was constituted in such an office, pursuant of an ancienter law or canon, as Nicephorus carelessly or wilfully mistakes. Besides, afterwards, when the historian observes that the Novatians universally withstood this order from the beginning of it, he calls it, *προσθήκην ταύτην* ; *q. d.* this new institution, or addition, or supplement of the ancient rites of the Church ; so that there is no reason we should date this institution higher than the historian doth, namely, after the Decian persecution.

But what should be the ground and reasons of erecting this new office and officer in the Church then, if it was not before ? Of this I give two accounts :

First, The Church being now very numerous, and the zeal and devotion very great, and what by the compassionate reception which the Church gave to penitents, and her ardent prayers for them, what by the earnest harangues of holy men to move people to repentance, abundance were inclined to confess their sins ; and this confession being till that time accustomed to be open and public in the face of the congregation, it must needs happen (all those circumstances considered together), that a great many things would be brought upon the stage, the publication of which would be attended with great inconveniences ; for some sins are of that nature, that they scarce can take air without spreading a contagion ; some confessions would make sport for light and vain persons, and besides abundance of other inconveniences (easy to be imagined by any one), the publication of some sins might expose the penitents to the severity of the Pagan criminal judge. Upon these, and such like considerations, the Church thought fit therefore (as I have intimated before) to appoint one wise and very grave person in her stead to receive the confessions ; who, by his discretion, might so discriminate matters, that what things were fit for silence, might have private methods applied to them ; but what were fit to be brought upon the stage, might be made public examples of, or receive a public remedy.

Secondly, But the historian leads us to a more special reason of this institution at that time ; namely, that the rage of the Decian persecution cruelly shook the Church, and abundance of her weaker members fell off in the storm, and which was worst of all, the Church was distracted about the restitution or final rejection of those that had so miscarried. For though the best and wisest of the Church were so merciful and considerate of human infirmity, as to be willing to receive

those in again, upon repentance, over whom the temptation of fear had too much prevailed ; yet the Novatians, a great and zealous part of Christianity, looked upon such as desperate, who had once broken their baptismal vow, and would rather separate from the Church themselves, than suffer such to be restored to it. Here the Church was in a great strait ; either she must be very severe to some, or she shall seem very unkind to others ; she must either let the weak perish, or she must offend them that counted themselves strong. Now in this case, she being both tenderly compassionate towards those that had fallen, and withal willing to satisfy those Novatian dissenters, or at least, to deliver herself from scandal, takes this course ; she requires that those who had fallen, and desired to be restored again to her society, should acknowledge their faults, and make all the penitent satisfaction that was possible for them to perform, that so neither they may be too easily tempted to do so again by the gentleness of the remedy, nor the Novatians reproach her lenity, or take pet, as if no difference was made between the sound and the lapsed : for these causes, though the most public penance was thought little enough to be undergone by the lapsed ; but yet, on the other side, considering wisely the inconveniences of public penance in some cases (as I specified before), she therefore took this middle course ; namely, she appointed a public confessor, who having first heard privately the several cases of the penitents, should bring into public, only such of them as (without incurring any of the aforesaid dangers) might be made exemplary. And this appears to be the true reason of this institution, and the bottom of this affair, by this remarkable passage in the historian ; that whereas the generality of the orthodox closed presently with this wise temperament, the Novatians only, those self-conceited non-conformists, rejected *προσθήκην ταύτην*, this expedient as a new invention ; they were too humoursome to comply with such a temperament.

But here another question arises, *viz.* How far this new expedient was embraced by the orthodox churches ; for if it was only received by that of Constantinople, the authority would not be so great ; for it is possible to imagine, that other churches might allow every private priest to confess, and so admit of no public penitentiary.

To which I answer, that by the history it seems plain enough, that this was not the peculiar manner of the church of Constantinople only, but the usual method in that time of

most other churches also ; but I must needs say, I do not find that the Church of Rome complied with them herein, though it was not much to her honour to be singular, where there was so much prudence and piety to have inclined her to uniformity. However this is gained, which is my point, that the Church of Rome is not countenanced in her practice of private and clancular confessions, by the general usage of the Church, as they pretend.

3. I observe concerning this office of penitentiary, that as it was erected upon prudential considerations, so it was upon the same grounds abolished, by the same authority of the Church which first instituted it ; and that after about 200 years continuance, in the time of Nectarius, as we have seen ; and therein he was followed, saith Sozomen, by almost all the bishops and churches in the world ; this, therefore, was far from being thought either a divine or apostolical constitution. Petavius would here persuade us, that it was only public confession, and not private, which was upon this occasion so generally laid aside, as we have seen ; but this is done by him more out of tenderness of auricular confession, than upon good reason ; and Valesius goes beyond him, and will needs persuade us, that neither public nor private confession were put down in this juncture : but only that the lately erected office of penitentiary was cashiered : but I must crave leave to say, there is no sufficient reason for either of these conjectures ; but on the contrary, plain evidence against them ; for Socrates, who is the first and principal relater of this whole story, saith, he was personally acquainted with this presbyter Eudæmon, who gave the advice to Nectarius, to make this change of the discipline of the Church, and that he had the aforesaid relation of it from his own mouth, and expostulated with him about it, giving his reasons to the contrary, and suggested his suspicions, that the state of piety would be much damaged by this change, and in plain words tells him, that he had now bereft men of assistance in the conduct of their consciences, and hindered the great benefit men have, or might have one of another by private advice and correption. Now this fear of his had been the absurdest thing in the world, if upon this counsel and advice of his, only one certain man in the office of public confessor had been laid aside, but both the use of public and private confessions had been kept up and retained.

But after all (for ought appears) the Church of Rome kept

her old mumpsimus, she, tenacious of her own customs, especially of such as may advance her interest and authority, complies not with this innovation or reformation (be it for better or worse), but her priests go on with their confessions, and turn all religion almost into clancular transactions, in despite of the example of other churches. It may be she met with opposition sometimes, but she was forced to dissemble it till the heroic age of the Schoolmen, and then those lusty champions, with their fustian stuff of *videtur quod sic*, and *probatur quod non*, make good all her pretensions. After them, in the year 1215, comes the fourth Lateran Council, and that decrees auricular confession to be made by everybody once a year at the least ; and last of all comes the Council of Trent, and declares it to be of divine institution necessary to salvation, and the constant and universal custom of the Christian Church. And so we have the pedigree of the Romish auricular confession.

Sect. 4. I come now to the third and last stage of my undertaking, which is to shew that secret or auricular confession, as it is now prescribed and practised in and by the Church of Rome, is not only unnecessary and burdensome in itself, but also very mischievous to piety, and the great ends of Christian religion.

For the former part of this charge, if it be not evident enough already, it will easily be made out from the premises, for they cannot deny that they make this kind of confession necessary to salvation, at least as necessary as baptism itself is (supposing a man hath sinned after baptism) ; now if it be neither made so by Divine institution, nor acknowledged to be so by the constant opinion of the Church, what an horrible imposition is here upon the consciences of men, when in the highest and worse sense that can be, they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and make salvation harder than God hath made it, and suspend men's hopes upon other terms than he hath done ? If it was prescribed by the present Church, as a matter of order and discipline only, or of convenience and expediency, we should never boggle at it upon this account, or dispute the point with them ; or if it was only declared necessary *pro hic et nunc*, upon extraordinary emergency, by the peculiar condition of the penitent, his weakness of judgment, the perplexity of his conscience, his horrible guilt or extreme agonies, we would not differ upon that neither, but when it is made necessary universally, and declared the indispensable duty of all men whatsoever who have sinned

after baptism (when God hath required no such thing, but declares himself satisfied with true contrition and hearty remorse for what is past, and sincere reformation for the time to come), this, I say, is an intolerable tyranny and usurpation upon the consciences of men. And that is not all neither; for besides its burdensomeness in the general, it particularly aggravates and increases a man's other burdens; for instead of relieving perplexed consciences, which is the true and principal use of confessions of men, this priestly confession, as it is prescribed by the Council, entangles and afflicts them more, for that enjoins that the penitent lay open all his sins, even the most secret, although but in thought or desire only, such as against the ninth or tenth commandment, according to their division of the Decalogue. Now this is many times difficult enough, but that is not all, he must also recount all the circumstances of these sins, which may increase or diminish the guilt, especially such as alter the species and kind of sin. Now what sad work is here for a melancholy man? All the circumstances are innumerable, and how can he tell which are they that change the species of the act, unless he be as great a schoolman as his confessor. Besides all this, it may be he is not very skilful in the distinction between venial and mortal sins, and if he omit one mortal sin he is undone: therefore it is necessary for him (by consequence) to confess all venial sins too, and then where shall the poor man begin, or when shall he make an end? Such a *carnificina*, such a rack and torture, in a word, such a holy inquisition is this business of auricular confession become. And that eminent divine of Strasburg (of whom Beatus Rhenanus speaks) seems very well to have understood both himself and this matter, who pronounces that Scotus and Thomas had, with their tricks and subtleties, so perplexed this plain business of confession, that now it was become plainly impossible. And so much for that.

But as for the second part of this impeachment, *viz.* That the auricular confession now used in the Church of Rome, is mischievous to piety, this remains yet to be demonstrated, and we will do it the rather in this place, because it will be an abundant confirmation of all that which hath been discoursed under the two former heads, and might indeed have saved the labour of them, but that we were unwilling to leave any pretence of theirs undiscussed; for if this practice of theirs appear to be mischievous to piety, it will never, by any sober man, be thought either to have been instituted by our Saviour, or to

have been the sense and usage of the Catholic Church, whatever they pretend on its behalf.

Now, therefore, this last and important part of my charge I make good by these three articles following :

First, This method of theirs is dangerous to piety, as it is very apt to cheat people into an opinion that they are in a better condition than truly they are, or may be in, towards God, as that their sins are pardoned and discharged by him, when there is no such matter. The Churchmen of Rome complain of the doctrine of some Reformed divines touching assurance of salvation, that it fills men with too great confidence, and renders them careless and presumptuous ; but whatsoever there is in that it is not my business now to dispute it ; however, methinks it will not very well become a Romanist to aggravate it till he have acquitted himself in the point before us ; for by this assurance-office of theirs they comply too much with the self-flattery of men's own hearts ; they render men secure before they are safe, and furnish them with a confidence like that of the whore Solomon speaks of, who wipes her mouth, and saith, “I have done no evil.” For men return from the confessor's chair (as they are made to believe) as pure as from the font, and as innocent as from their mother's womb ; as if God was concluded by the act of the priest, and as if he being satisfied with an humble posture, a dejected look, and a lamentable murmur, God Almighty would be put off so too.

Ah nimium faciles qui tristia crimina, &c.

Ah cheating priests who made fond men believe,
That God Almighty pardons all you shrieve.

Perhaps they will say, this is the fault and folly of the men, not of the institution of the Church : but why do they not teach them better then ? Nay, why do they countenance and encourage them in so dangerous mistakes ? For whither else tend those words in the decree of the Council of Trent,* *ipso Deo reconciliandis ? q. d.* that by this way of confession, &c. men are reconciled to the Divine Majesty himself ; or those other forecited, where the priest is said to be the vicar of Christ, and in his stead, a judge or president ;† or especially what other meaning can those words have, where it is said, that‡ “this rite is as necessary as baptism : for as in that, all

* Sess. 14. Can. 1. [ut supra, p. 823.]

† Ibid. cap. 5. [p. 818.]

‡ Ibid. cap. 2. [p. 816.]

sins are remitted which were committed in former time, so in this all sins committed after baptism are likewise remitted?"

Now I say, what is the natural tendency of all this, but to make people believe that their salvation or damnation is in the power of the priest; that he is a little God Almighty, and his discharge would certainly pass current in the court of heaven? But there is sophistry and juggle in all this, as I thus make appear; for,

1. The priest cannot pardon whom he will, let him be called *Judex* and *Præses* never so; for if his sentence be not according to law, it will be declared null at the great day; only it may be good and valid in the mean time *in foro Ecclesiæ*; and here lies the cheat.

2. Nor are all sins retained or unforgiven with God, that are not pardoned by the priest; it is true, in public scandals, till the sinner submit to the Church, God will not forgive him; for what that binds on earth, is in this sense bound in heaven; but what hath the Church to do to retain, or to bind the sinner in the case of secret sins, where it can charge no guilt on him?

3. Nor is it properly the act of the priest which pardons, but the tenor of the law, and the disposition of mind in the penitent agreeable thereunto, qualifying him for pardon, to which the pardon is to be imputed: and as it is not the herald which pardons, but the prince, who, by his proclamation, bestows that grace upon those who are so and so qualified.

4. Nor, lastly, can the priest be said to pardon so properly by those majestic words, *absolvo te*, as by his whole ministry, in instructing people in the terms of the new covenant, and making application of that to them by the sacraments; this he hath commission to do, but those big words I cannot find that he hath any where authority to pronounce, and therefore (as I think I observed before) the ancient Church had no form of absolution, but only receiving penitents to the communion: and the Greek Church had so much modesty as to absolve in the third person, not in the first, to shew that their pardon was ministerial and declarative only.

All these things notwithstanding, the people are let to go away with such an opinion as aforesaid, because it is for the grandeur and interest of the priesthood, that they should be cheated; but these misapprehensions would vanish, if their teachers would be so just as to distinguish between God's absolution, and the absolution of the Church; the first of

which extends to the most secret sins, the latter to open scandals only ; the one delivers from all real guilt, the other from external censure only ; of the latter, the priest may (by the leave of the Church) have the full dispensation, so that he is really pardoned with her, that hath satisfied the priest ; but of the former, he dispenses but conditionally. To confirm all which I will here add only two testimonies of the judgment of the ancient Church.

The first is of Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea, in his epistle to St. Cyprian, reckoned the seventy-fifth of St. Cyprian's, where speaking of holding ecclesiastical Councils every year, he gives these reasons for it : *ut si qua graviora sunt, communis consilio dirigantur, lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare a Diabolo vulneratis, per pœnitentiam medela quæratur; non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur;* “ partly (saith he), that by joint advice, and common consent, we may agree upon an uniform order in such weighty affairs as concern our respective churches, partly that we may give relief, and apply a remedy to those who, by the temptation of the devil, have fallen into sin after baptism ; not that we can give them pardon of their sin, but that by our ministry they may be brought to a knowledge of their sins, and directed into a right course to obtain pardon at the hands of God.” The other is of Theodorus,* archbishop of Canterbury, whose words are these : *Confessio quæ soli Deo fit, purgat peccata: Ea vero quæ Sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter purgentur.* “ Confession to God properly obtains the pardon of sin ; but by confession to men, we are only put into the right way to obtain pardon.” Thus they :

But now in the Church of Rome, the case is otherwise ; there the priest sustains the person of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and is not so much his delegate as his plenipotentiary, and his pardon is as full and as good, as if the Judge of the world had pronounced it *pro tribunali* ; so that if the most lewd and habitual sinner have but the good fortune to go out of the world under the blessing of his ghostly father, that is to say, either death came so soon after his last absolution, or the priest came so opportunely after his last sin, that he hath

* Theod. Cantuar. apud Beat. Rhen. in præf. ad. Tertul. de Pœnit. [ut supra.]

not begun a new score ; he is sure to go to heaven without more ado. This I represent as the first mischief attending their doctrine and practice of auricular confession. But this is not all ; for,

Secondly, It corrupts and debauches the very doctrine and nature of repentance, which the whole Gospel lays so much stress upon : making attrition (which is but slight sorrow for sin, or a dislike of it in contemplation of the wrath of God impended over it) pass for contrition, which implies an hatred and detestation of it for its own moral evil and deformity, with a firm resolution of amendment. This they (many of them) are not ashamed to teach, and their practice of absolution supposes and requires it. The Jesuits in particular, who have almost engrossed to themselves the whole monopoly of confessions avow this as their principle. Father Bauny, Escobar, and Suarez declare their judgment, that the priest ought to absolve a man upon his saying that he detests his sin, although at the same time the confessor doth not believe that he does so. And Caussin saith, if this be not true, there can be no use of confessions amongst the greatest part of men. These things (it is true) are disliked by some others of the Romanists, and the *curees* of France are so honest as to cry shame of it before all the world ; for, say they, attrition is but the work of nature, and if that alone will serve for pardon, then a man may be pardoned without grace. But therefore, say the others, the sacrament of penance doth it alone, and this is for the honour of the sacrament ; greatly for the honour of it (say I), that it is of greater power than our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Gospel, which cannot help a wicked man to heaven, whilst he continues so ; but this sacrament it seems can. Nor can they excuse this matter by saying, these odious assertions are but the private opinions of some divines. For they are plainly favoured by the determinations of the Council of Trent :* I confess that Council delivers itself warily and cunningly in this point (as it uses to do in such cases), yet these are their words : *Illa vero contritio imperfecta quæ attritio dicitur, quamvis sine Sacramento Pœnitentiae per se ad justificationem perducere peccatorem nequeat, tamen eum ad Dei Gratiam in Sacramento Pœnitentiae impetrandum disponit, &c.* Which is as much as to say, though attrition or a superficial sorrow for sin, barely alone, and without con-

* Conc. Trident. Sess. 14. cap. 4. [ut supra, p. 817.]

fession to a priest, will not justify a man before God, yet attrition and confession together will do it; for then they are as good as true repentance. And in this sense Melchior Canus long since thought he understood the Council well enough.

Thirdly, This business of auricular confession, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, is so far from being a means to prevent and restrain sin, as it highly pretends to be (and I am sure as it ought to be, if it be good for any thing), that contrariwise, it is either lost labour and a mere ceremony, or it greatly encourages and emboldens and hardens men in it, both by the secrecy, the multitudes, and the frequency of these confessions, by the cursory, hypocritical and evasive ways of confessing, by the slight penances imposed, and the cheapness, easiness, and even prostitution of absolutions.

It were easy to be copious in instances of all these kinds, but it is an uncomfortable subject, and I hasten to a conclusion; therefore I will only touch upon them briefly.

1. For the privacy of these confessions. In the ancient Church (as I have noted before), the scandalous sinner was brought upon the stage before a great assembly of grave and holy men; he lay prostrate on the ground, which he watered with his tears; he crept on his knees, and implored the pity and prayers of all present, in whose countenances (if for shame he could look up) he saw abhorrence of his fact, indignation at God's dishonour, conjoined with compassion to his soul, and joy for his repentance; his repentance was full of remorse and confusion; the remedy was as sharp and disgusting to flesh and blood, as the disease had been pleasant; and the pain of this expiation was able to imbitter the sweet of sin to him ever after. Or if the confession was not made before the whole Church, but to the penitentiary only, yet he was a grave and holy person, chosen by the Church, and representing it, a person resident in that Church, and so able to take notice of, and mind the future conversation of those that addressed themselves to him, a person of that sanctity and reverence, that he could not choose but detest and abhor all base and vile actions that should come to his knowledge: now it must needs be a terrible cut to a sinner, to have all his lewdness laid open before such an one, and then to be justly and sharply rebuked by him, to have his sins aggravated, and to be made to see his own ugly shape in a true glass held by him, besides to be enjoined the performance of a strict penance of fasting and prayer, and after all (if this do not do) to have the Church made acquainted

with the whole matter, (as in the case of the deacon aforesaid.) This course was likely to work something of remorse in the sinner for what was past, and to make him watchful and careful for the time to come.

But what is the way of the Church of Rome like to this ? Where a man may confess to any priest, to him that knows him not, and so cannot observe his future life and carriage ; nay, perhaps that knows not how to value the guilt of sin, or to judge which be venial, and which mortal sins, or especially what circumstances do alter the species of it, and it may be too, he may be such an one that makes no conscience himself of the sins I confess to him. Now, when all is transacted between me and such a priest in a corner, and that under the inviolable seal of confession, what great shame can this put me to ? What remorse is it likely to work in me ? What shall discourage me from going on to sin again, if no worse thing happen to me ?

2. And then for the multitude of confessions in the Church of Rome, that also takes off the shame, and weakens the efficacy of it, so that if it do no harm, it is not likely to do any good ; for who is concerned much in the doing that which he sees all the world do as well as himself ? If only notorious sinners were brought to confession (as it was in the primitive Church), then it might probably and reasonably provoke a blush, and cause a remorse in him to whom such a remedy was prescribed ; but when he sees the whole parish, and the priest too brought to it, and men as generally complying with it, as they approach to the Lord's table ; what great wonders can this work ? What shame can it inflict upon any man ? What effect can be expected from it, but that it ordinarily makes men secure and careless, and grow as familiar with sin as with the remedy, or at least think as well of themselves as of other men, since it seems they have as much need of confession and absolution as himself ?

3. To which the frequency and often repetitions of these kind of confessions adds very much ; it is very likely that modesty may work much upon a man the first or second time he goes to confession, and it may something discompose his countenance when he lays open all his secret miscarriages to a person, especially for whom he hath a reverence (for we see every thing, even sin itself, is modest in its beginnings) ; and no doubt it is some restraint of sin whilst a man is sensible that he must undergo a great deal of pain and shame in

vomiting up again his sweet morsels which he eats in secret : but by that time he hath been used to this awhile, it grows easy and habitual to him, and custom hath made the very punishment pleasant, as well as the sin ; especially, if we add,

4. The formal, cursory, hypocritical, and illusive ways of confession, in frequent use amongst them ; as that a man may choose his own priest, and then to be sure the greatest sinner will have a confessor right for his turn, that shall not be too severe and scrupulous with him ; that a man may confess in *transitu*, in a hurry or huddle, and then there can be no remark made upon his person nor his sins ; that a man may make one part of his confession to one priest, and reserve the other part for another, so that neither of them shall be able to make any thing of it ; that he may have one confessor for his mortal sins, and another for his venial ; so that one shall save him, if the other damn him ; nay, for failing, the forgetful sinner may have another man to confess for him, or, at least, he may confess, that he hath not confessed ; these, and abundance more such illusive methods, are in daily use amongst them, and not only taken up by the licentious, and unconscionable people, but allowed by some or other of their great casuists. Now let any man judge whether this be a likelier way to restrain sin, or to encourage it ; whether the easiness of the remedy (if this be one) must not of necessity make the disease seem not very formidable ; in a word, whether this be not a ridiculing their own religion, and, which is worse, a teaching men to be so fool-hardy as to make a mock of sin.

5. This sad reckoning will be inflamed yet higher, if we consider the slight penances usually imposed by these spiritual judges upon the greatest crimes. The Council determines that the confessor must be exactly made acquainted with all the circumstances of the sin, that so he may be able to adjust a penance to it ; now when some great sin is confessed, and that in very foul circumstances, if the penance proportioned to it by the priest, be to say two or three Paternosters, or Ave-Marias extraordinary, to give a little money in alms to the poor, or some pious use, to kneel on his bare knees before such a shrine, to kiss such an image, to go on pilgrimage a few miles to such a saint, or at most to wear a hair shirt, or it may be to fast with fish and wine, and sweatmeats, &c. doth not this make that sin which is thus mauled and stigmatized, look very dreadfully ? Can any man find in his heart to sin again, when it hath cost him so dear already ?

Oh, but they will tell us, these penances are not intended to correspond with the guilt of the sin, but only to satisfy the debt of temporal punishment. But we had thought that the end of penance had been, to work in the penitent a disposition for pardon, by giving him both opportunities and direction to express the sincerity of his repentance ; and this was the use of penance in the primitive Church, together with the taking off the scandal from the society ; and for that other end, how doth the Church of Rome know so certainly that there is a debt of temporal punishment remaining due, after the sin is pardoned before God ? It is true, God may pardon so far only as he pleases ; he may resolve to punish temporally those whom he hath forgiven eternally, as we see he did in the case of David ; but that this is not his constant method, appears by this, that our Saviour releases the temporal punishment to many in the Gospel, whose diseases he cured, saying to them, “Your sins are forgiven you ;” when, as yet, it did not appear that all scores were quitted with God so, but that they might have perished eternally, if they did not prevent it by faith and repentance.

6. But lastly, to come to an end of this sad story, the easiness and prostitution of their absolutions in the Church of Rome, contributes as much to the encouraging of vice and carelessness in religion, as any of the former; for what else can be the natural effect and consequence of that ruled case among their casuists (as I shewed before), that the priest is bound to absolve him that confesses, and saith, he is sorry for his sin, though he doth in his heart believe that he is not contrite, but that either the priest’s pardon is a very cheat, or else that pardon is due of course to the most impenitent sinner, and there is no more to do but confess and be saved ? Or what is the meaning of their common practice to absolve men upon their death-beds, whether they be contrite, or attrite, or neither ; at least, when they can give no evidence of either ? If they intended this only for absolution from the censures of the Church, it might be called charity ; and look something like the practice of the primitive Church, which released those upon their death-beds, whom it would not discharge all their lives before, though not then, without signs of attrition and contrition too ; but these pretend to quite another thing ; namely, to release men *in foro conscientiae*, and to give them a passport to heaven without repentance, which is a very strange thing, to say no worse of it. Or to instance one thing more,

what is the meaning of their practice of giving absolution before the penance is performed (as is usual with them), unless this be it, that whether the man make any conscience at all how he lives hereafter, yet he is pardoned as much as the priest can do it for him ; and is not this a likely way of reformation?

I conclude therefore now upon the whole matter, that auricular confession, as it is used in the Church of Rome, is only an artifice of greatening the priest, and pleasing the people ; a trick of gratifying the undevout and impious, as well as the devout and religious ; the latter it imposes upon by its outward appearance of humility and piety ; to the former it serves for a palliative cure of the gripes of conscience, which they are now and then troubled with ; in reality, it tends to make sin easy and tolerable by the cheapness of its pardon ; and in a word, it is nothing but the old discipline of the Church in dust and ashes. And therefore, though the Church of England in her Liturgy, piously *wishes for the restoration of the ancient discipline of the Church, it can be no defect in her, that she troubles not herself with this rubbish.

A POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER I had finished the foregoing papers, and most of them had also passed the press, I happened to have notice that there was a book just then come over from France, written by a divine of the Sorbonne, which, with great appearance of learning, maintained the just contrary to what I had asserted (especially in the historical part of this question), and pretended to prove from the most ancient monuments of the Holy Scriptures, Fathers, Popes and Councils, that auricular confession had been the constant doctrine, and universal and uninterrupted usage of the Church for near 1300 years from the times of our Saviour to the Lateran Council.

So soon as I heard this, I heartily wished, that either the said book had come out a little sooner, or at least, that my papers had been yet in my hands ; to the intent that it might have been in my power, to have corrected what might be amiss, or supplied what was defective in that short discourse ; or, indeed, if occasion were, to have wholly suppressed it.

For as soon as I entered upon the said book, and found

from no less a man than the author himself, that he had diligently read over all that had been written on both sides of this controversy, and that this work of his was the product of eighteen years study, and that in the prime of his years, and most flourishing time of his parts; that it was published upon the maturest deliberation on his part, and with the greatest applause and approbation of the faculty; I thought I had reason to suspect, whether a small tract, written in haste by a man of no name, and full enough of other business, could be fit to be seen on the same day with so elaborate a work.

But by that time I had read a little further, I took heart, and permitted the press to go on; and now, that I have gone over the whole, I do here profess sincerely, that in all that learned discourse, I scarcely found any thing which I had not foreseen; and, as I think, in some measure prevented. But certain I am, nothing occurred that staggered my judgment, or which did not rather confirm me in what I had written; for though I met with abundance of citations, and a great deal of wit and dexterity in the management of them, yet I found none of them come home to the point; for whereas they sometimes recommend and press confession of sin in general, sometimes to the Church, sometimes to the priest or bishop as well as to God Almighty; again, sometimes they speak great things of the dignity of the priesthood, and the great honour that order hath in being wonderfully useful to the relief of guilty or afflicted consciences; other while they treat of the power of the keys, and the authority of the Church, the danger of her censures, the comfort of her absolution, and the severity of her discipline, &c. but all these things are acknowledged by us without laborious proof, as well as by our adversaries: that which we demand, and expect therefore, is, where shall we find in any of the ancient Fathers, auricular confession said to be a sacrament, or any part of one? Or where is the universal necessity of it asserted? Or that secret sins committed after baptism, are by no other means, or upon no other terms pardoned with God, than upon their being confessed to men? In these things lies the hinge of our dispute; and of these particulars one ought in reason to expect the most direct and plain proof imaginable, if the matter was of such consequence, of such universal practice and notoriety as they pretend; but nothing of all this appears in this writer more than in those that have gone before him. In contemplation of which, I now adventure this little tract into the world, with somewhat more

of confidence than I should have done, had it not been for this occasion.

But lest I should seem to be too partial in the case, or to give too slight an account of this learned man's performance; the reader, who pleases, shall be judge, by a specimen or two which I will here briefly represent to him.

The former of them shall be the very first argument or testimony he produces for his assertion, which I the rather make my choice to give instance in, because no man can be said ingenuously to seek for faults, to pick and choose for matter of exception, that takes the first thing that comes to hand.

The business is this, chap. 2, page 11, of his book, he cites the Council of Illiberis (with a great deal of circumstance), as the first witness for his cause; and the testimony is taken from the seventy-sixth canon; the words are these, *Si quis diaconum, &c. i. e.* “if any man shall suffer himself to be ordained deacon, and shall afterwards be convicted to have formerly committed some mortal, (or capital crime;) if the said crime come to light by his own voluntary confession, he shall for the space of three years be debarred the holy communion; but in case his sin be discovered, and made known to the Church by some other hand, then he shall suffer five years suspension, and after that be admitted only to lay communion.”

Now who would have ever thought this passage fit to be made choice of as the first proof of auricular confession; or who could imagine it should be any proof at all, much less a clear or direct one?

Oh, but here is a confession! It may happen so if the party please, but it is not enjoined, but voluntary, and that not auricular neither, but unto the Church, at least for ought appears.

And it is confession of a secret sin too! True, it was so, till it was either confessed or betrayed.

And here is penance imposed for a secret sin! True, when it was become public.

And here is a different degree of penance imposed upon him that ingenuously confesses, from him that stays till he is accused, and hath his sin proved upon him. And good reason; for the one gave tokens of repentance, and the other none. But then here is —— what? No sacrament of penance, no declared absolute necessity of confession to men in order to pardon with God, but only a necessity, that when the fact is become notorious, whether by the confession of the party, or

otherwise, that the Church use her endeavours to bring the sinner to repentance, and free herself from scandal, by making a difference betwixt the good and the bad, the more hopeful and the less.

If this be a clear and proper argument for the necessity of auricular confession, God help poor Protestants that cannot discern it ; but oh the wit of man, and the power of learning and logic ! What may not such men prove, if they have a mind to it ?

The other passage I instance in, is in his tenth chapter, page 156, *viz.* the critical and famous business of the Nectarian reformation at Constantinople, of which I have spoken somewhat largely in the foregoing papers. Now for this : this learned gentleman, after he hath acknowledged very frankly that public confession of sins was the ancient use of the Church in the times of St. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen ; that is, for the space of about 300 years, and instead of that ancient usage (upon occasion of the Decian persecution) a public penitentiary was appointed at Constantinople, and most other orthodox churches, and in short, after he had with more ingenuity than some others of his party, owned the undoubted truth of the relations of Socrates and Sozomen touching this affair, and made some observations thereupon, not much to the advantage of his cause ; he at length delivers that which would be very much to his purpose, if it could be credible ; namely, that upon the whole matter, Nectarius in abolishing the penitentiary, neither abolished public nor private confessions ; but instead of obliging men to go to the penitentiary, left every man bound to resort to his respective diocesan, and confess his sins to him ; and so auricular confession is, after this change, every whit as necessary as it was before ; very true (say I), it is as necessary now as it was before ; for it was only voluntary before, and so it may be after. But if the intention of Nectarius, and the effect of that alteration, was only the change of the person, and every man still obliged to confess to somebody, how comes it to be said in the story, that every man was left to his own conscience ; doth that word signify the bishop ? Then we have found out a right fanatic diocesan ; for they will all readily confess to this bishop, and believe his absolution as sufficient as any Romanist of them all doth , and yet it seems to be undeniably plain, that Socrates, after this reformation, thought of no other confessor but this ; nor imagined men now bound

to make any other confession but this (which if it was not auricular was very secret); for otherwise, how comes it to pass that he expostulates the matter with Eudæmon, who advised this change, and bewailed the danger of this liberty which was hereby given men, if they were as strictly bound still to confess to their bishop, as they were before to the penitentiary; therefore the truth of the business seems evidently to be this, that men were now at liberty to make their confessions of secret sins voluntarily, as they were no doubt before the institution of a penitentiary. And now what hath this learned gentleman gotten by mustering up this story? well, however the conclusion must be held, let the premises look to themselves.

I could find in my heart (now my hand is in) to proceed further, and to observe what pitiful shifts he is put to, in his thirteenth chapter, to evade the testimonies brought by Monsieur Daille out of St. Chrysostom against his hypothesis. And the rather, because (out of mere tediousness of writing) I in the foregoing papers omitted to specify the most remarkable discourses which that excellent author hath upon this subject. But the authorities are so plain and unanswerable, and the evasions of this gentleman so forced and palpable, that I think it needless to go about to vindicate the one, or confute the other; for, in spite of art, this same thirteenth chapter (we speak of) will afford no less than thirteen arguments against the necessity of auricular confession.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED, WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF
THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF OF THEIR DOCTRINE OF
AURICULAR CONFESSION.

THE Church of Rome, taking all courses, whether direct or indirect, to bring men over to her communion, or at least to make them out of love with ours, as in other cases, so in this of confession, pretends sometimes a great friendship, at other times a great enmity with the Church of England: sometimes we are reported to hold confession just as that Church does: at other times we want one of the Christian sacraments, and best means to promote a religious and godly life. By the first of these, they endeavour both to keep our dissenting brethren at as great a distance as they can from us, and to tempt the more unwary amongst ourselves to step out of our Church into another, betwixt whom they are made to believe there is already so close a correspondence; by the other, they sometimes insnare the more ignorant and more devout, who are too apt to be misled by the specious pretence of better means of salvation than they at present enjoy.

Now being engaged to examine those Scriptures by which the doctrine of auricular confession is by that Church defended, that all parties may understand one another aright, and there may be no mistake about our or their holding either too little or too much concerning it, I shall set down how far we agree, and wherein we disagree as to the fore-mentioned point.

First, We agree that all ought to confess their sins unto Almighty God. Not because God does not know them before (for he is intimately acquainted with all our most secret faults), but because without repentance there can be no hopes of pardon; and repentance never can be rightly performed without confession: having acted contrary to God's most righteous laws, we become thereby obnoxious to punishment; but such is God's kindness to us, that for the sake of a crucified Saviour, he is willing to pardon such our offences, provided we are heartily sorry for them, and resolve to forsake them; but how can we be heartily sorry for them, or disposed to forsake

them, unless we are willing to own and confess them? By publishing our offences before God, we discern the folly thereof, and God's hatred against them; and by making such discoveries, we become more ashamed of ourselves, and more inclinable to make resolutions of never being guilty of the like follies for the future.

And this indeed is the true end of confession, *viz.* to make men reform their lives. Let them confess never so much, it will all signify nothing to them, unless it help to make them more virtuous, by causing them to reflect upon their past actions, and by shewing them how much they had formerly been mistaken, that so they might be aware how they were any more misled after the same manner.

Now as to this confession which is made to God, it is either in the public offices of the Church, or in private.

In the public offices of the Church, both we and they of the Church of Rome have forms of confession, but ours are certainly much more useful, because ours are in a language which every one understands, but theirs are not: we, if we be present when the general forms of confession are repeated by the minister, know how to join with him in them, and to make particular reflections upon our most private and most secret sins, under those general terms which he useth. But they of the Church of Rome, unless they understand Latin, can do nothing of this.

As to confession to God in private, this is left to the discretion of every particular person to manage as he shall judge most for his advantage. In which case, sometimes it may be sufficient to use such general terms, wherein we own ourselves to have been grievous offenders, and therefore do heartily beg God Almighty's pardon. At other times, the enumeration of such circumstances as do set forth the heinousness of our offences, may be of great use to make us more sorrowful for what is past, and more resolute not to be guilty of the like follies for the future. For this, as I said before, is the true end of confession, *viz.* to make us mend, and therefore in that consists our greatest prudence, *viz.* so to manage it as that the end may be obtained. For if this be done, it is no matter whether it be by a general acknowledgment of our past follies, or by a more particular enumeration of them.

Secondly, We agree, that in case of public scandal given to the Church by any notorious crime, a public confession thereof ought to be made before the Church.

This is what the Primitive Church was very solicitous about, and what the first penitents did cheerfully submit to.

This the Church of Rome does at this day more especially take care of, in all cases of heresy. For although in most other cases auricular confession be allowed of as sufficient; yet in case of heresy, no reconciliation is to be had without a public recantation.

And as for the Church of England, she wisheth (as we read in the Commination) "that the godly discipline, which was in use in the Primitive Church, were restored;" and in the Rubric to the Communion Service, forbids the minister to admit any one, who has done any ill thing, whereby the congregation is offended, to the communion, before the congregation be satisfied; which cannot be without an acknowledgment of his fault, and the prospect of amendment for the time to come.

Thirdly, We agree, that private confession of sin may be made to all sorts of people, whether of the laity or of the clergy; and that,

1. When any injury has been done another. Every body is bound to make some sort of reparation for having injured his neighbour. Now it may happen in some cases, either upon the account of the injury itself, or the circumstances in which he who has done it is placed, that the only reparation which can be made is, a free acknowledgment thereof; and in other cases where there is a possibility of making some other reparation, yet still it cannot be done without the like acknowledgment, and begging of pardon of the injured party for the injuries which have been done him.

Besides, such acknowledgments do discover the sincerity of his repentance who has done the injury, in that he is willing to endure the shame of having his fault known by him, from whom, if he were not heartily sorry for what he had done, he had most reason to conceal it.

2. In case of any doubt or scruple. Some people are apt to entertain wrong apprehensions both of God and themselves, and from thence to be very much perplexed in their minds in reference to their spiritual condition, and the real welfare of their souls. Now in such cases, what can be more fit and reasonable, than that they freely declare themselves to such whom they believe best able to give them satisfaction? He who cannot resolve all scruples which arise within his mind concerning himself, if he has any wise and discreet friend, whether of the laity or clergy, whom he knows to be able to

assist him in such his perplexity, is much to be blamed, if he does not what he is wont to do, when he is at a loss as to the management of his temporal concerns, *viz.* open his difficulties unto him, and make the best advantage he can of his advice and directions.

3. In all cases whatsoever. Although in doubtful and difficult cases, confession of sins to others is most necessary, yet even when the matter is plain before us, and we clearly discern in what our offences against God do consist, it may then likewise be of great use to discover our faults to them; and that,

1. Because the advice of others, even in the most manifest cases, may be helpful towards a right management of ourselves, and we shall be better instructed to conquer and subdue our wicked lusts and affections, when to our own thoughts concerning them, we add the directions of others.

2. That we may have the prayers of good men to God for us: that he would be pleased to send his Spirit into our hearts to enable us to overcome those temptations which do daily beset us, and to break off those sins to which we find ourselves so much addicted.

Fourthly, We agree that confession of sin ought more especially to be made to the priest, and that in all cases whatsoever.

1. Because he must needs be supposed to be best provided to give proper advice and direction in all cases whatsoever. It is his business and employment to study cases of conscience and to prepare answers to such doubts and scruples as are wont to arise in men's minds.

He must be presumed to understand, better than others do, the nature of God's laws, and in what the breach thereof doth consist, and consequently must needs be better able to direct the sinner what to do, whenever he is tempted to act contrary to any of them. So that as in the case of lawsuits, men go to some able lawyer for advice and counsel; in the case of sickness, to some experienced physician; so likewise, in the case of any spiritual distemper, they ought to advise with some of the clergy, who must be presumed to be most skilful in such matters.

2. Confession to the priest is most useful, because God has constituted him his minister here on earth, to declare the terms of reconciliation to penitents. And therefore for such to make application to him for counsel and advice in all difficult cases,

and to receive the benefit of absolution, must necessarily afford them great comfort and satisfaction.

From the consideration of God's goodness, and of our Saviour's undertaking for them, they may be encouraged to hope for pardon and forgiveness; but when he, who is appointed in God's stead, to speak peace to their souls, recommends them unto God in prayer, and upon impartial examination of their condition, pronounceth them to be the proper objects of God's love, and assures them that he is willing, for the sake of Christ, to be reconciled unto them; this will certainly afford great comfort to their minds, and make them more at ease within themselves, than otherwise they would be.

Thus far we and the Church of Rome agree: but we disagree in the two following particulars.

1. That secret confession is of Divine institution.
2. That in confession it is necessary to enumerate all our sins, together with their circumstances, of what kind soever.

These things the Council of Trent* has positively determined, and denounced an anathema against all such who assert the contrary.

My design at present is, to examine the authority which that Council, and the defenders of it, have produced from Scripture for the defence of the forementioned articles.

Now the chief place of Scripture insisted on, both by the Council and others, is that of St. John, chap. xx. 23, "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

Unto which Bellarmine annexed these two as parallel, Matth. xvi. 19: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven."

Matth. xviii. 18. "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." From which places it is thus argued:

That since here is a power plainly given by Christ to his Apostles, and consequently to their successors, of remission of sins; and that it is impossible that this power should be exerted, unless they come to the knowledge of them; and they cannot come to the knowledge of them, but by the confession

* Sess. 14. Can. 6, 7. [ut supra, p. 824.]

of those who are guilty of them ; therefore it is absolutely necessary, that they who are desirous to have their sins forgiven, should make a particular confession of them.

In answer to which argument I observe:

First, That as to that of St. Matthew, xviii. 18, it is by some made to have respect not only to the priest, but to every particular Christian. For in the foregoing verses, directions are given to every one, of what condition soever, how to behave himself towards his offending brother. He must first admonish him alone, then in the presence of two or three witnesses,* then tell it to the Church, and if he continue still incorrigible, account him no better than as a heathen man and a publican. And then immediately follows, “Verily,† I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.” By which words, upon the account of what went before, they understand a power to be given to every good Christian of judging concerning any offence committed against him, together with an assurance of having any such judgment which he shall here make upon earth (provided that it be just and impartial), ratified by God in heaven. Hence St. Augustine saith,‡ “Thou hast begun to account thy brother no better than a publican, thou bindest him in earth, but take care that thou bindest him justly, for Divine Justice breaks in sunder the bonds that are unjust : when thou hast corrected and agreed with thy brother, thou hast loosed him in earth ; when thou hast loosed him in earth, he is loosed in heaven.” But suppose these words of St. Matthew were directed only to the Apostles and their successors. I then observe,

Secondly, That both this place and that of St. Matthew, xvi. 19, may be interpreted with respect to that general power and authority which was given by our Saviour to the Apostles, of determining in all matters concerning the Christian religion, and of declaring what was right and fit to be done, and what was otherwise.

All are agreed, that by the kingdom of heaven, is to be understood the state and condition of God’s Church under the Gospel, wherein he is worshipped after a spiritual manner, as residing in heaven, as giving his disciples and followers the

* Ver. 15. Ver. 16. Ver. 17.

† Ver. 18.

‡ Aug. de Verb. Domini in Evang. Matt. Ser. 16. [vol. 5. p. 442. Par. 1683.]

hopes thereof, and as prescribing means for the obtaining it; whereas under the law he was worshipped after a terrestrial manner, as dwelling more particularly here on earth amongst his select people the Jews, requiring external performances, and promising earthly benefits to such performances.

By the keys of the kingdom of heaven, is likewise generally understood that power and authority in his Church, which was given by Christ to his Apostles, our Saviour therein alluding either to the custom among the Jews of inaugurating or creating doctors by the delivery of a key, that being the symbol of that authority which was then given them, or to that place in Isa. xxii. 22, where God, to declare his resolution of putting Eliakim into the place of Shebna (whom he designed to remove from being steward of the royal family), saith, "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder."

But as to those expressions of *binding* and *loosing*, there is some dispute about the interpretation of them. For by *to bind* some understand to prohibit, and by *to loose* to permit; and consequently that the authority here given to the Apostles is, as I said, general, of determining in matters of religion what was fit to be done, and what not; according to which meaning of the words the Scribes and Pharisees are said, Matth. xxiii. 4, to "bind heavy burdens," *i. e.* to impose some unprofitable observances upon their followers, by enjoining as necessary what was not so, and by forbidding as sinful, what might have been lawfully performed by them.

Now if the words be thus interpreted, here will be no countenance given to the doctrine of confession, as taught in the Romish Church, because the power of binding and loosing will not then have respect to persons, but to things. It will be a general declaration of what is fit to be practised in the Church of God, and what not, which is here spoken of, and not barely a power and authority, with respect to those particular sins which any person makes confession of. To countenance which explication, it may be fit to take notice, that it is not said, 'whomsoever ye shall bind on earth,' &c. but 'whatsoever ye shall bind,' &c.* and that those who are skilful in the Jewish learning, do give us several instances where the words *to bind* and *to loose* are taken in this sense, adding withal, that since our Saviour made use of words that were usual and common, it cannot but be supposed that his

* Lightfoot Hor. Heb. in loc.

auditors understood him according to the vulgar meaning of them.

In the 20th of St. John it is indeed said, “ Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted,” &c. and therefore regard is there had to persons ; but here no regard is had to persons, but only to things, “ Whatsoever ye shall bind,” &c. and therefore it is not necessary that these places in St. Matthew, should be parallel to that in St. John, since they may be interpreted with respect to that general commission given by our Saviour to his Apostles of determining, as they were taught by the Holy Spirit, concerning matters of religion, he at the same time assuring them, that whatever they, according to his word, and that Holy Spirit which directed them, did so determine, should certainly be ratified in heaven. But let us suppose them to be parallel, and that by binding and loosing is meant the same with remitting sins and retaining them ; yet is there here nothing which can at all favour the doctrine of confession in the Church of Rome, because I observe,

Thirdly, That remission of sins may be otherwise interpreted, than with relation to that formal absolution, which is given by the priest to such as come to confession. For,

1st, By remission of sins, may be understood the declaration of God’s will concerning remission of sins. The Apostles and their successors are God’s ambassadors, and do acquaint us what his will is concerning remission of sins ; and that,

1. By preaching the word of reconciliation unto us. And in this sense the Apology* of the Church of England acknowledgeth the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting, to have been given by Christ unto the ministers, and the power of loosing to consist herein ; when the minister, by the preaching of the Gospel, shall tender the merits of Christ, and absolution to dejected minds and truly penitent, and shall denounce unto them an assured pardon of their sins, and hopes of eternal salvation. Which is agreeable to what St. Ambrose asserts,† *viz.* “ That sins are remitted by the word of God, whereof the Levite is an interpreter, and a kind of executor ;” to the author of the imperfect work upon St. Matthew, his calling the priests key-bearers, because to them is committed the word of teaching and expounding the Scriptures, and to St. Jerome’s declaring “ the Apostles to loose men by the word of

* Bishop Jewel’s Apology.

† Amb. de Cain et Abel, lib. 2. cap. 4. [vol. 1. p. 212. Par. 1686.]

God, and by the testimony of the Scriptures, and by an exhortation to virtue.”* The key of knowledge is committed to the priests, and they do understand best the mysteries of the Gospel, and what are the terms of our being reconciled unto God, and therefore may be then said to remit sins, when they conscientiously explain to us what God on the one hand has promised us with reference to forgiveness of sins, and what on the other hand he requires of us in order to our being made partakers of such a promise.

They who out of prejudice or interest explain the word of God deceitfully, and give such interpretations thereof as do tend to promote sin and wickedness, these, like those lawyers whom our Saviour justly blames, do take away the key of knowledge, and may be said to retain sin, because they shut up the kingdom of heaven against such as would otherwise enter therein: whereas they who faithfully expound the will of God to their hearers, and do thereby help to further their departure from every thing that is sinful, do thereby exert that power of remission of sins, which is here by our Saviour bestowed upon them.

2. The declaration of God’s will concerning remission of sins, is made manifest by the priests obtaining pardon for sinners by prayer unto God for them. The priests and ministers of the Gospel are by God appointed to offer up petitions on behalf of the people committed to their charge, and the great subject of such their petitions must be the forgiveness of sins. God is willing to be merciful to true penitents, but he will be applied unto for it, and therefore remission of sins may, upon this account, be attributed unto the priest, in that he does daily deprecate God’s anger against sinners, and through the merits of a crucified Saviour, intercedes at the throne of grace for them. Hence St. Chrysostom† informs us, “that priests do not only exercise this power of forgiveness of sins, when they beget us again in baptism, but after the administration thereof, that power of remitting sins continueth in them;” and for proof thereof, makes mention of that passage in St. James;† (“and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him”), and from thence deduceth

* Hieron. lib. 6. Comment. in Isa. c. 14. [vol. 4. p. 255. Veron. 1735.]

† Chrysost. *περὶ ἵερωσύνης*, Βιβλ. γ. tom. 6. p. 17. [vol. 1. p. 384. Par. 1718.]

‡ James v. 15.

this inference, “that priests forgive sins, not by teaching and admonishing only, but by helping us with their prayers,” which is the reason that all the absolutions in the several offices of our Church are in the form of prayer. And even that most solemn one in the visitation of the sick, is prefaced with an humble petition to God, for forgiveness of sins to the party who then humbles himself, and is truly penitent.

3. The declaration of God’s will concerning remission of sins, is made manifest by the priest’s administration of the sacraments. God has instituted the two sacraments on purpose to confirm to us the promises made in the new covenant unto us, and has therein set his seal that he will make good whatever he has engaged to perform. Now remission of sins being the great thing promised in the New Testament, is in the two sacraments after a more special manner confirmed unto us.

And therefore, as to baptism, St. Peter’s advice to his hearers was, Acts ii. 38, “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.” And it is very observable, what a learned man hath lately taken notice of, that “whereas St. Matthew* speaks of the power of baptizing granted by our Saviour to the Apostles, when he was about to leave them ; St. John, instead of that, mentions his power of remitting or detaining sins;† and St. Mark and St. Luke speak of baptism, to which the one joins salvation, and the other remission of sins ;” which observation does very much countenance their opinion, who determine the power of the keys to the authority given by our Saviour to his disciples, of admitting proselytes into the Church by baptism, and that this power being mentioned to have been given to St. Peter, had peculiar respect to his being constituted the Apostle of the Gentiles, to whom he first opened the kingdom of heaven, as we read, Acts x. and xv. And as to the eucharist, our Saviour himself, when he gave the cup to his disciples, Matth. xxvi. 28, said, “This is my blood of the new testament which was shed for many for the remission of sins.”

When therefore the ministers of the Gospel do rightly and duly administer the sacraments, according to our Saviour’s institution, they may then likewise be said to declare God’s will concerning the remission of sins.

2ndly, Remission of sins may not only be interpreted, with

* Matth. xxviii. 19.

† Dr. Stillingfleet, the Council of Trent examined, p. 124.

respect to that declaration of God's will concerning remission of sins, made manifest to us by the ministers of the Gospel, in the preaching of God's word, in prayer, in the due administration of the sacraments; but likewise with respect to those good effects which are hereby actually produced in men's minds. When by a right application of the forementioned means, they beget within sinners a sober sense of their wicked ways; so that they are become heartily sorry for what they have done amiss, and resolve to do so no more, when they have stirred up in them such an aversion towards what is sinful, and have settled such excellent dispositions of soul, as do render them the proper object of God's love; so that he now looks upon them with a pitiful and compassionate eye, is ready to forgive all their former transgressions, and to receive them into favour. When, I say, the ministers of the Gospel have thus disposed sinners for God's mercy, and rightly prepared them for the forgiveness of sins, then may they be rightly said to remit sin.

But suppose remission of sins, spoken of by St. John, has respect to the formal absolution pronounced by the priest upon the confession of sins, yet still the doctrine of auricular confession will hereby be never the more established, because I observe,

Fourthly, That such remission or absolution may have respect to the public censures of the Church, duly inflicted upon notorious sinners. God has without question given his ministers a power of excluding all such out of their communion, as by their scandalous lives are unworthy of it, and of readmitting them again upon an assurance given of their repentance and amendment.

And this was early practised in the Church, when public offenders were not permitted to come to the sacrament; and at other times totally excluded the congregation of the faithful, and not again restored until by a public acknowledgment of their crimes, and a sufficient intimation given of their being reformed they gave satisfaction to God's people, whom, by their wicked practices, they had so grievously scandalised. Now this is such a godly discipline, as our Church is so far from finding fault with, as that she does most heartily wish it were restored. But then if our Saviour's words are interpreted (as they are by many), with respect to such public censures, then are they still far from countenancing such a private sort of confession as the Church of Rome requires of her members.

But let it be supposed further, that even the remission of sins here spoken of hath respect, not only to sins which have given scandal and deserve public censure, but likewise to such sins as are secretly confessed to the priest : yet then I observe, in the fifth place, that our Saviour's words do not determine any such confession, to be absolutely necessary to be performed by every one who desires forgiveness of sins. We do not deny but that God has given his priests a power of applying his promises to true penitents, and of giving them the assurance of pardon, if they find them fitly qualified for it. But it does not appear that there lies an absolute obligation upon the sinner to have recourse to the priest ; so that no absolution can be had from God without his so doing. In cases of doubt and scruple, it is highly expedient to give an account thereof to such as are best provided to resolve them. Nay, in all spiritual cases whatsoever, it may be of great advantage to make application to the ministers of the Gospel for their direction and prayers. But yet we are not to suppose but that if, without doing this, any one does truly repent him of his evil ways, and begs God's mercy, he will be accepted by him.

It is God alone who forgives sin, neither does he part with such his supreme authority over his creatures, although he has substituted his priests to declare the assurance thereof to true penitents ; and therefore, wherever he finds a proper object of mercy, there he reaches forth pardon, whether any of his ministers are acquainted with such an one's condition or no.

It will administer great comfort to uneasy minds, to have the ministers of the Gospel, after a due examination of their spiritual state, to declare, in God's name, that they are persons to whom the promises of forgiveness do belong ; but still it is left to their choice, whether they will apply themselves where this comfort is to be found.

If people will come to those whom our Saviour has appointed to declare remission of sins, such as are faithful ambassadors of Christ will not fail to publish it to all such whom they find fitly qualified for it ; but our Saviour has left no power in his Church to compel them to it.

They of the Church of Rome will needs persuade us, that God has tied himself to the determination of his own priests, and that he will give no pardon until they have declared the penitent deserving of it. Now God may, it is true, appoint what means he pleaseth of conveying any mercy to us, and if he had plainly said, that he would forgive none but such whom

his ministers, after a due examination of their state and condition, according to the rules of the Gospel, had declared capable of forgiveness, there had then lain an obligation upon every one of us to have recourse to such his ministers, if ever we expected the forgiveness of our sins. But what our Saviour saith in this place of St. John, implies no such thing. Neither does Bellarmine* any where prove (what he so confidently asserts), that the ministers of the Gospel are so far forth constituted judges by our Saviour, that all those who are at enmity with God, are bound to have recourse to them for forgiveness. They may be so far forth said to be judges, in that upon a due examination of their condition who come unto them, they are authorized to pronounce the sentence of absolution upon all such, whom, according to the tenor of the Gospel, they find deserving of it : but this does no ways infer the absolute necessity of having recourse to them for their judgment ; or that no reconciliation can be had with God, without making such an application to them.

And therefore that is a very ridiculous inference of Bellarmine's,† that because it is said, "Whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven ;" therefore it follows, that whatsoever you do not loose on earth, shall not be loosed in heaven.

They who with sincerity do acquaint his ministers with their condition, and upon their acquainting them with it are, according to God's laws, absolved by them ; these have a well grounded assurance, that what is pardoned thus on earth, shall be forgiven in heaven. But still they are left to their liberty, either of applying themselves thus to God's ministers for their judgment, or of confessing their sins only to God, who, without any such application, will forgive them, if he finds them truly deserving of it.

But to make one step farther, suppose it should be granted, that it were absolutely necessary to make application to the priests for the forgiveness of sins : I observe then, in the

Sixth and last place, that notwithstanding this, there would be no obligation to the particular enumeration of all sins, together with their circumstances, which is a thing so rigorously insisted upon by the Church of Rome, as to denounce a curse against all such as declare against it.

For besides that this oftentimes is impossible, as well as very

* Bell. de Poen. lib. 3. c. 2. [vol. 3. p. 581. Prag. 1721.]

† Bell. de Poen. lib. 3. c. 2. [Ibid. sect. 9. p. 582.]

indecent ; the great business of the ministers of the Gospel, in order to their giving any one assurance of forgiveness of sins, is to examine whether he be truly penitent, which may be done without a particular enumeration of all crimes whatsoever.

Had God given his ministers a power of punishing sinners according to their deserts, it would then have been necessary that they should have had a particular account of all those several sins which they had been guilty of. But their authority consists not in punishing, but in giving assurance of pardon, and in order to their doing this, it is not so much necessary to know what kind of sins he has been guilty of, as what kind of man the sinner at present is. How great soever any one's crimes may have been, if he appears to be one who is heartily troubled for his having offended a good and gracious God ; if he has emptied himself of all vain conceits concerning the best of his actions ; if he depends wholly upon the merits of our Saviour's undertaking, and gives good reason to believe that he will be more careful for the future in the observance of all God's laws ; such an one may very justly be absolved, although he who gives him the assurance of forgiveness of sins, has not a distinct knowledge of all his wicked practices.

It is impenitence only which can exclude from the forgiveness of sins ; and therefore where nothing of this appears, but the quite contrary, there the sinner may have assurance thereof given, although his particular faults be only known to God and his own conscience.

Where doubts and scruples arise in reference to particular sins, there must be a particular discovery thereof in order to the obtaining a resolution of them ; but in other cases, if the sinner expresseth himself truly humble and penitent, that will be a sufficient ground for the priest's giving him hopes of pardon, although he is no ways informed concerning all those several sins which he has ever been guilty of.

Having thus shewn what little reason there is to ground this doctrine of auricular confession upon this place of St. John,* I shall only add that several of the writers of the Church of Rome have been of the same opinion ; and although the Council of Trent has founded the Divine right of confession upon these words of our Saviour, yet that it has not been the traditional sense of those of that communion.

* Gerhard Confess. Cath. lib. 2. par. 3. Art. 16. cap. 3. Dr. Stillingfleet, Council of Trent examined, p. 122.

The next text I shall examine is that of Acts xix. 18 : " And many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds." Where, " by their deeds," Bellarmine understands all particular sins of what kind soever ; and that the confession here spoken of was to St. Paul.

I answer,

1. That it does not appear but that the confession here spoken of was made to God alone, and not to man.

2. That if it were made to man, it is not certain whether it was private to St. Paul, and not rather public to the whole Church.

3. That it is most probable that the deeds here spoken of were not a catalogue of all offences whatsoever, but only of such as did more particularly respect the use of charms and conjurations. St. Paul having done many miracles at Ephesus, several vagabond Jews took upon them to do the like, and to "call over them which had evil spirits," ver. 13 ; but with very ill success, " for the spirits fell upon them and wounded them," ver. 16. Upon this, the name of the Lord Jesus began to be magnified ; and those who had been accustomed to use enchantments, being terrified with this example, became converts to Christianity, confessed and shewed their deeds, *i. e.* acknowledged the grievous crime of being so addicted to magical arts as they had been. Now there is a great deal of difference betwixt any one's acknowledging some particular sins which he happens to be guilty of, and of which the present fear of punishment has extorted a confession, and the being obliged to make a confession of all sins whatsoever.

4. That although it should be granted, that all sins whatsoever were here confessed by these new converts, yet this makes nothing for auricular confession. For we do not deny but that any one, for advice and counsel, may unbosom himself, and discover whatever he has been guilty of : but this we contend, that it is no where absolutely required by our Saviour. If these new converts, having sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, did discover all their miscarriages, of what nature soever, to St. Paul, and entreat his direction thereupon, they did well. But although they had not been so punctual in giving an account of themselves, if they had truly repented them of all their wicked ways, God would have forgiven them ; and so he will every one else who does the like, although he should not make such a particular discovery of his miscarriages to those whom God has appointed to hear such discoveries,

and when they are made, to apply his promises of forgiveness, according as they are found disposed who make them.

Another text insisted upon by Bellarmine and others, is 2 Cor. v. 18, 19 : " And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation." From whence it is inferred, that since the Apostles, and consequently their successors, were to be the ministers of reconciliation, it was impossible for them rightly to perform such their office, unless they were informed concerning the nature of that enmity which is betwixt God and sinners, and this they could not be, unless they received from those who had offended, a particular account of their guilt.

To which inference I reply :

1. That these words are to be interpreted (as they are even by Cajetan, and other Popish writers) of the preaching of the Gospel, the care whereof was committed to the Apostles upon our Saviour's leaving the world. God, by the sufferings of our Saviour, did reconcile sinners to himself, and necessary it was that some should be appointed by our Saviour to give notice of this reconciliation : upon which account it is here said, " that the ministry of reconciliation was given to them ;" and ver. 19, that " the word of reconciliation was committed unto them," *i. e.* that they were set apart to publish unto the world, " that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." Of their being set apart for which purpose, St. Paul gives further evidence, ver. 20 : " Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." For here the Apostle exerciseth that " ministry of reconciliation" which was committed to him ; but this he does without giving the least intimation of the necessity of auricular confession.

2. Suppose the " ministry of reconciliation," here spoken of, should imply the authority delegated by Christ unto his Apostles, of giving the assurance of forgiveness of sins to all such who confess their faults, and are truly penitent, yet this does not imply the necessity of rigorously exacting a particular account of every sin, with the circumstances that attend it. For in order to the ministers of the Gospel thus reconciling men to God by giving them the assurance of the forgiveness

of sins, nothing is more required than to find out whether they are truly penitent, which may be known without such an exact knowledge of all their sins.

And here it may not be amiss to take notice, that although they of the Church of Rome do exact a particular confession of all their sins from those who are within the bosom of the Church, yet they do not require it of such who are without, and only about to be admitted into it: were an heathen to be received into their communion, a general confession should then serve in order to his being absolved. But after he is once received, then whatever sin he happens to be guilty of, his confessor must have a particular account of it. As if they did not care what they made the terms of communion for the gaining a proselyte, but after they had gained him, were resolved to tie him to the hardest terms they could think of. For otherwise, since sincere repentance is that alone which can give any assurance of forgiveness of sins, there is no reason why, if this at first gave a man a title to God's promises upon his entrance into the Church, it might not do the same afterwards, without a particular enumeration of all private sins whatsoever.

Another text is that of St. James, chap. v. 16; “Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed.” Where Bellarmine will have *faults* to denote all faults whatsoever; and the confession spoken of, to be made only to such to whom (he saith) it ought to be made, *viz.* to the priests.

I answer :

First, That these words are by some interpreted with relation to those injuries men do to one another, and then the meaning of them is: that they who have injured one another, should freely acknowledge such their offences, and beg pardon for what they had done, heartily praying for one another, that so they might be healed, *i. e.* either that the sicknesses of their minds might be done away by God's forgiving such their trespasses upon their forgiving one another, or that their corporeal sicknesses, which God had inflicted upon them for such their injurious behaviour, might be removed, and they restored to their wonted healthful condition.

Secondly, That if the Apostle's words are considered as closely connected to what went before, then the faults here made mention of, are not only injuries, but any crimes whatsoever, which God in the beginning of the Church punished with sickness; and the being healed, denotes the miraculous

cure of such upon their repentance ; and the praying for one another, signifies the prayer of faith ; *i. e.* the prayer of such, who, from some inward inspiration, were assured that what they had prayed for should certainly come to pass. For the case in short was this :

God in the beginning of the Church was wont to punish several notorious and scandalous sinners with bodily sickness, (as is manifest from 1 Cor. xi. 30 : “ For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.”) And the Apostle St. James here directs those whom God had thus punished, to send for the “ elders of the Church,” ver. 14, who were endued with a power of working miracles (Luke ix. 1, 2. Mark vi. 13. Acts ii. 43.), and to acquaint them what they had been guilty of, which might give occasion to God thus to punish them ; and if the elders of the Church, from some inward inspiration, understood that God, by them, would work a miraculous cure upon such who were sick, they would then pray over them, anointing them with oil, and the effect should immediately follow.

Now is there not a great deal of difference betwixt publicly confessing some particular faults upon such an occasion as this was, and when there was such a power of healing in the Church, and the being constantly obliged to confess in private to the priest all sins whatsoever ? But they, who, from anointing with oil, which was nothing else but a ceremony of the gift of healing, could so easily infer the sacrament of extreme unction, are to be excused if they have deduced another sacrament from what is in the same place said concerning confession.

Thirdly, That although the words of St. James may be thus interpreted with relation to what went before ; yet they may be considered as a general proposition, deducible from what the Apostle had discoursed in the 14th and 15th verses, concerning those extraordinary cures wrought by the prayers of the elders upon such as were sick ; and that because,

1. Here is nothing said concerning anointing with oil, which was only used when any extraordinary cure was wrought.

2. Because it is not said, ‘ confess to the elders,’ but to ‘ one another ;’ which is a general term, and takes in those of the laity as well as those of the clergy.

3. Because there is annexed a known general duty of praying for one another.

Now if the words contain a general proposition, and that the

Apostle, having shewn how prevalent the prayers of good men are in some cases on the behalf of penitents, does from thence take occasion to persuade all Christians to acknowledge their faults to one another, that so by their mutual advice and prayers for one another, they may be recovered of all their spiritual distempers, of what kind soever: there will still be less foundation in this passage for the doctrine of auricular confession. For then Bellarmine's forced interpretation, "confess to one another, *i. e.* you who want absolution, to those who have power of giving it," can never take place. But the confession here spoken of, must be mutual, of any good Christian to another: and it may as well be inferred from the latter exhortation, to pray for one another, that none but the priest is to put up prayers unto God for us, as from the former, that we are only to confess to him.

The last text in the New Testament, which Bellarmine does more particularly insist upon, is that of St. John, 1 John i. 9: "But if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness."

To which it may be replied:

1. That he himself is so modest as to assert sacramental confession to be only probably inferred from this place.

2. That he grounds this probability upon the supposition, that in the 20th of St. John, ver. 23: "Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted," &c. confession is determined to be of absolute necessity; and therefore, when it is here said, that "God is faithful and just," it is with respect to the promise by him there made, of pardoning all such who confessed their sins to the priest, and none else: whereas it has been shewn, the necessity of auricular confession cannot be proved from that passage.

3. That the confession, here spoken of, is (according to the interpretation of some of the best Popish commentators) to God alone, and does denote not a particular recital of all sins whatsoever, but an humble acknowledgment (like that of the publican, Luke xviii. 13.) of having offended God, in opposition to their presumption, who (like the proud Pharisee, Luke xviii. 11, 12.) rely too much upon their own merits, and (as it is expressed in the verse precedent),* "say they have no sin."

Having thus examined those texts wherein auricular confession is supposed to be directly proved, I might with good reason pass over such wherein it is declared to be only figured.

* 1 John i. 8.

1. Because Bellarmine* himself confesseth, "that arguments, which carry any force or efficacy along with them, can be fetched only from the literal sense of the Scriptures."

2. Because when the thing itself is not to be found in the Scriptures, it is to no purpose to talk of its being prefigured. If neither those texts which I have examined, nor any other, do clearly shew auricular confession to be of Divine institution, of what use can it be to appeal to other Scriptures for the finding out some resemblances of it?

But however, that all pretence of argument from Scripture may be wholly removed, I shall likewise briefly consider the several figures of auricular confession set down by Bellarmine, and from him borrowed by the Catholic Scripturist, and other Popish writers.

The first figure of auricular confession is fetched from Gen. iii. and iv.† where God is said to require a confession first of Adam, and then of Cain, by an angel, the representative of the priest under the Gospel.

I answer: The confession here spoken of, was made only to God, and that the voice of one walking in the garden (Gen. iii.) said by Bellarmine to be the voice of an angel, was the voice of God: for it was the voice of him who gave the commandment about not eating of the tree of life‡ (ver. 11.), and the voice of him who gave the woman to the man, ver. 12.

The second figure is found in the 13th and 14th chapters of Leviticus, where the leper coming to the priest to receive his judgment, whether he were clean or no, is supposed to prefigure the sinner's coming to confession to the priest under the Gospel.

But there is a great difference between these two.

1. Because the leper's coming was public; but the confession required is private.

2. Because the leprosy was but one particular disease; whereas auricular confession is an enumeration of all sins whatsoever.

3. Because the leprosy was visible in the outward parts of the body; but auricular confession is not only of open and scandalous sins, but of the most internal and secret faults.

* Bell. de Verbo Dei, lib. 3. cap. 3. [ut supra, sect. 8. vol. 1. p. 82.] Convenit inter Nos et Adversarios ex solo literali sensu peti debere Argumenta efficacia.

† Bell. de Pœn. lib. 3. c. 3. [ibid. sect. 7. p. 587.]

‡ Corn. à Lap. in loc. [vol. 1. p. 49. Antv. 1616.]

4. Because the leper came for judgment, whether he were clean or no; but the sinner who comes to confession, comes to be made clean, *i. e.* to be absolved.

5. Because the leper came when he himself was not certain whether he was infected with the leprosy or no: whereas in auricular confession, the sinner is supposed to be conscious of the sins which he is to confess.

6. Because the priests in the Old Testament are types, not of the ministers of the Gospel, but of our Saviour, who is the Christian's only high-priest.

The third figure is fetched from Numb. v. 6: "Speak unto the children of Israel, when a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit, to do a trespass against the Lord, and that person be guilty;"

Ver. 7. "Then they shall confess their sins, which they have done: and he shall recompense his trespass with the principal thereof, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him against whom he hath trespassed."

I answer:

1. That it is not necessary that every ceremony or passage in the Old Testament should prefigure something in the New; nor that if confession under the Gospel were prefigured in this passage, it should be confession to any other but to Christ alone.

2. That here is no mention made of a particular enumeration of all sins whatsoever. The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel asserts,* that by confessing their sin, is to be understood their sin in particular; and we could agree with him, if by their sin in particular he understood (as he ought) that particular sin whereby any one had injured his neighbour, and not all particular sins whatsoever.

The Catholic Scripturist, instancing in this passage for the proof of auricular confession, cries out,† "Behold confession! Behold restitution!" Which last words shew that he supposed the recompense here spoken of, to be a recompense for some injury done; and if so, then has the confession here spoken of, respect likewise to such an injury, and not to all manner of sins of which any one happens to be guilty.

The fourth figure mentioned by Bellarmine, is in Matth. iii. 5, 6: "Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him, in Jordan, confessing their sins."

I answer :

1. That confession here spoken of, is of such as were to be baptized ; but auricular confession is required of such as are already baptized, and therefore it may be as well inferred from hence, that men are often to be baptized, as that they are often to confess.
2. That this confession was voluntary ; but auricular confession is declared to be of absolute necessity.
3. That this confession was public ; but auricular confession is private to the priest alone.
4. That by confessing their sins, can be only meant an owning themselves (as Cajetan and other Popish commentators do affirm) to have been great offenders ; it being impossible to suppose that ever St. John Baptist could have heard the particular confessions of all such who came to his baptism.

The fifth and last figure is fetched from St. John, chap. xi. 44 : “Loose him (Lazarus), and let him go.” Where Bellarmine makes Lazarus’s coming out of the grave, to denote the sinner’s coming out of his sins by confession ; and the loosing him, to express the power of absolution in the priest.

I answer :

1. That Alphonsus de Castro having shewn that no proper argument for confession can be fetched from the history of sending the lepers to the priest,* adds, that “the like may be said of what our Saviour spoke to the Apostles concerning Lazarus ;” and that Maldonat, another Popish writer asserts, that they do not build sacramental confession upon this place, *i. e.* “upon the sand,” but upon that other passage, “whose-soever sins ye remit, they are remitted,” &c.

2. That our Saviour’s words do properly denote nothing else but the untying those grave-clothes wherewith Lazarus, having been dead and buried, was bound ; and although an ingenious fancy may apply them to confession and absolution of sins, yet this does not prove either of them (especially as practised in the Church of Rome) to be of Divine institution.

3. That our Saviour spoke not only to his Apostles, but likewise to other standers-by, who by untying Lazarus, were to be witnesses of the miracle wrought by him : and therefore if absolution is here prefigured, it is prefigured to be in the people as well as in the priest ; and every private person may

* Simile est illud quod de Lazaro resuscitato, Christus dixit Apostolis, Solvite eum, et finite abire. Maldonat. in loc.

from hence be concluded to have a power of remitting the sins of those who confess to him.

Having thus considered all the most material passages, which the defenders of the Church of Rome insist upon, for the proof of auricular confession, I shall conclude with these following observations.

First, That besides such writers of that Church, who (as we have observed) do deny the several passages before-mentioned to have any relation to auricular confession,* there are others of the same communion, who have positively declared that it cannot be proved from the Word of God; as the Glossator, Nicolaus de Orbello, Scotus, Gabriel, &c.

Secondly, That whereas they of the Church of Rome do so extravagantly commend those who come to confession, and make it part of the character of the most virtuous persons; there is no instance of such kind of penitents in Scripture, neither are any there commended upon any such account.

Thirdly, That St. Paul, who gives directions almost concerning every thing relating to the Church, gives no directions either about making confessions to the priest, or his receiving them.

Fourthly, That there are in the Scriptures many places which do plainly declare confession to God to be sufficient,† as well as instances of such as have had their sins forgiven them upon their repentance, without a particular enumeration of all their faults, as in the case of the prodigal son, Luke xv. 18, of Zacchæus, Luke xix. 8, of the woman that was a sinner, Luke vii. 48, &c.

* Gerhard. Confess. Cath. l. 2. par. 2. Art. 16. c. 4. Dallæus de Auric. Confess. p. 12.

† Isa. i. 16, 17, 18. Ezek. xviii. 21, &c.

BOOK II.

THE POPISH METHODS FOR THE PARDON OF SIN,
GROUNLESS; UPON THE HEAD OF PENANCES.

A

DISCOURSE CONCERNING PENANCE:

SHEWING

HOW THE DOCTRINE OF IT, IN THE CHURCH OF ROME,
MAKES VOID TRUE REPENTANCE.

THERE is nothing more common amongst those of the Church of Rome, than to amplify and set forth the rigours of penance, practised in their communion. It is from this supposal they draw a great many prejudices against the Protestants, as if the love of licentiousness had made them shake off a yoke so troublesome and uneasy to the flesh. We know also how much they esteem themselves on account of these severities, as if their Church therein gave a certain mark of her zeal and care for the salvation of her children, whom by these examples she trains up to holiness. It will be therefore of use for the informing of those who have not attentively considered these matters, and to prevent the cheat they endeavour to impose on Protestants, to lay open as briefly as may be these mysteries, and to make it appear, that these practices, so much boasted of, are vastly remote from the spirit of religion.

I will not here insist upon that which is peculiar to some orders of men in that communion, about the matter of penance; the Jansenists have sufficiently performed this in several of their writings. Neither will I insist on what Father Le Moyne hath maintained in his *Manifesto*, p. 46. That the "Propositions of Morality relaxed," which made so much noise, were writ by the most famous men of the University of Paris: nor on what Amadeus Guimenius hath made out, that what is objected to the Jesuits in this matter, is not peculiar to them, and that therefore the Jansenists could not censure

the propositions which the Jesuits defend about morality, without challenging the whole Church of Rome, whose most famous divines have defended the same opinions long time before and since the Reformation. My design is not to insist on some particular practice peculiar to some place, but to speak of what is commonly practised and taught by the whole body of that communion, and received by their divines and canonists, that is, by those whom that Church acknowledges for her doctors and directors.

I shall bind myself in this Discourse, to speak chiefly of six articles which concern the acts of Penance, and which evidently shew that the Church of Rome hath made of that duty a mere phantasm, which can be of no use to the salvation of Christians. The first respects the abolition of the penance of the ancients, as to the outward acts of it. The second respects the abolition of penance, as to its internals. The third, the practice of indulgences. The fourth concerns the right that penitents have to reject the penances imposed on them by their confessors. The fifth respects that power a sinner hath to make satisfaction by means of a third, upon whom he dischargeth the care of performing the penance he does accept of. The sixth concerns the nature of these satisfactions for sins, to which all the Romish piety may be reduced.

It cannot be denied, that the Church of old made use of great severities with regard to sinners that were guilty of enormous crimes; her excluding at first from her communion for ever those that were guilty of idolatry, adultery, and murder, doth evidence that she was minded to inspire sinners with the greatest horror and aversion for such crimes as these; and afterwards her admitting sinners guilty of such enormities only to receive her peace, and the tokens of her communion, at the hour of death, is a sufficient evidence that by this severity she was minded to keep off those that were not sufficiently touched with the horror of these sins. We know also what austerities, punishments, and mortifications she prescribed to those that were desirous to partake of this grace; and that without a continued exercise for many years of acts of penance, all hope of reconciliation was taken away from such gross sinners. The sinner was obliged to appear before the Church in a mourning habit, covered with ashes, and wearing a hair cloth; in this posture he was to prostrate himself at the feet of the congregation with tears and groans,

conjuring them, with their prayers to entreat the favour of God for him ; afterwards, by the earnest application of the assembly to the bishop in his behalf, he was admitted to do penance : he was obliged to humble himself under the hand of the bishop, to obtain his prayers and blessing during his penitential course ; he was for a long time, according to the nature of his sins, excluded from the communion of believers, and to continue for some years in the condition of the *Catechumeni*, without assisting at prayers or the sacrament, and for some years more in the state of those, for whom the bishop implored the Divine mercy ; and after all, for some years more deprived of the sacraments, though admitted to common prayer ; yea, sometimes excluded for ever from the participation of the eucharist, except at the hour of death : as we find it set down in the Canons of the Councils of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, not to speak now of those additions that have been since made to the severity of those ancient canons. This discipline, as to the greatest part of these particulars, continued for above a thousand years in the Western Church. But what part of all these outward acts of penance hath the Church of Rome retained ?

I. She hath abolished all the rigour, and retains only an empty shadow thereof, in the excommunications denounced at the beginning of Lent, and wherefrom they are again absolved on the Thursday, called *In Cœna Domini*.

II. She hath so ordered the matter by means of auricular confession, that nothing now remains of public penance for public sins ; whereas the Church sometimes for private sins submitted the sinner to public penance. Morin. *de Paenit.* lib. 5. cap. 8.

III. She has by the same means so wholly changed the notion of penance, that even a person who has committed murder, adultery, or any other of those sins she terms mortal, may, soon after the fact, be admitted to the communion. We know how the Jansenists have been treated on suspicion that they intended to re-establish the rigour of the ancient canons, by debarring those from the eucharist, that were guilty of such sins.

That she has abolished all the outward rigour of penance, is a matter that needs no proof, as being known to all the world. Where do we find in this communion, the least traces of those several orders of penitents, that of old were so common in the Church ? Has she retained any of those

penitential canons which served for a rule to correct and chastise such great sinners, though we read them at this day at the end of the decree of Gratian? We know that since the middle of the thirteenth century, Alexander de Alez hath expressly set down, that almost all confessors maintained, that all penances were arbitrary, *i. e.* depended on the will of the priest, who could impose more or less as he pleased, and that without sinning, as doing it in virtue of the keys. We know that Cardinal Aureolus hath observed about the year 1300, that in his time they were no more imposed; and that the custom of them was abrogated. And though we find some notable examples of severity until the end of the fifteenth century, for some very enormous crimes, yet we see that since that time, in imposing of penance, they only made use of rods, wherewith the cardinals and penitentiaries whipped their penitents. Moreover P. Thaumasson tells us in his preface to the decree of Gratian, that in process of time they came to that degree of remissness, as only to take rods for a show, and out of ceremony; so far were all acts of penance disused since the year 1500.

I know that in some parts of Spain,* we find some obscure remains of this ancient discipline. Benedict speaks of some who whipped themselves in public, in the Passion-week, carried crosses on their shoulders, and performed other like acts of penance; but for all that, the said author acknowledges, that the form of penance practised in the ancient Church, was no longer in being, and that the forementioned Spanish penances, in which the faces of the penitents were covered that they might not be known, were only arbitrary, depending on the will of those that underwent them.

If it be true, then, that the rigour of the ancient Church was of great use for the humbling of sinners; if it be true that those severities performed in public, were very efficacious to inspire believers with a religious fear to avoid the like crimes; lastly, if it be true that the ancient Church made use of this severity as a bank to stop the corruption of the age, and a bulwark against the calumnies of a Celsus or a Julian, who accused her of a soft indulgence for, and favouring of sin: the Church of Rome, on the contrary, has given the reins to sinners, and made a way for all licentiousness, by abolishing the ancient severity, and hath opened the mouths of infidels

* Sum. de Peccat. lib. 5. cap. 1.

to renew these accusations wherewith the Pagans of old charged the Church, *viz.* for admitting the most criminal to her communion.

I acknowledge, that as the scandal that public sins gave to those that knew of them, was repaired by acts of public penance, so they could not be imposed on such whose sins were unknown, the Church of old wisely dispensing with this humiliation in those whose sins were not come to public knowledge. But the Church of Rome hath so entirely taken away this distinction, that the most execrable sinner of her communion, may, after his being confessed to a priest, without giving the public any tokens of his repentance, pass for a true penitent. Neither hath the opposition made against this novelty, availed any thing, the Church of Rome having stopped the mouths of all opponents, by giving her priests the character of judges in the tribunal of confession; and by maintaining, that provided a sinner submit himself to their judgment, he is not obliged to undergo the laws of discipline, which the Primitive Church had prescribed to sinners, to be assured of the truth and sincerity of their repentance.

Not but that those who had any zeal for religion,* took notice that this change made an inlet for all manner of vice. A Council held at Lambeth in 1281, *Tit. de Paenit.* declares as much expressly, attributing the abolition of solemn and public penance to the negligence of spiritual directors; it declares that this slackening of penance did nothing else but greatly contribute to the excess and impunity of crimes, and endeavours to re-establish the same; but the power of confessors being already too great, they could by no means reform these matters. The mischief increased daily, insomuch that if here and there any footsteps of severity were found in some confessors, they only made use thereof to advance the interest of the clergy. The princes in Germany presented in the year 1510, a hundred grievances against the Court of Rome, the 67th of which imported,† That the ecclesiastical judges and officers imposed such severe penances upon laies, that they had rather buy them off with money, than perform them; by which means the laies were impoverished, and the clergy enriched.‡ But all this remonstrance was vain. It was also in vain that

* T. 2. Concil. Spelman, p. 337.

† Fascic. Rer. Expet. [vol. 1. p. 369. Lond. 1690.]

‡ Fath. Paul. lib. 1. Hist. Conc. Trid. [p. 4, &c. Lond. 1640.]

Cardinal Cajetan, to restore indulgences to their former credit, which indulgences he looked upon only as a remission of the punishments imposed in confession, advised Pope Adrian VI. to re-establish the penitential canons; for Cardinal Pucci frustrated his design, by remonstrating to the Pope, that the execution of them was impossible.* Charles IX. king of France, demanded, in one of his articles of Reformation, presented to the Council of Trent, that public penance for public sins might be re-established in the Church, Art. 30. But all the world knows what regard was had to that demand.

It is this overthrow of discipline, that has given rise to that scandal, wherewith the Church in former times reproached heretics: for at this day we find in that communion, a man guilty of adultery, at the table of the Lord, as if he were pure and innocent. It is at this day that we see a man that keeps his concubines, and lives a debauched life, enjoy the same advantages with the chaste and most virtuous persons in the world. *Nocte in Lupanari, mane in Altari, filiam Veneris nocte tangentes, filium Virginis mane contrectantes*; as Cardinal Vitry expresses himself in his History, lib. 2. cap. 5, where he describes the state of the Western Church, giving the most horrid representation of it imaginable. A priest cannot refuse absolution to an adulteress, or to a debauched person, as oft as they confess with regret, and a resolution to change their lives; this is the doctrine of Navarr. cap. 3. num. 20. of his Enchir. “A priest may absolve a debauched person,” saith Cœlestine *de Sacr. Pœnit.* cap. 20, when he doth not continually sin with her that is in the same house with him: as for instance, if he sins only twice a month, because he might do the same with a stranger. And this is the opinion also of Graffius, Sancius, Vivaldus, Diana, and other famous casuists. And what is the consequence of this absolution, but a right to receive the eucharist? All this is little; we see a priest that keeps his concubines, and a common fornicator, have the privilege of celebrating mass, that is, to perform the greatest public religious function of the Romish Church; only because, forsooth, he hath confessed to one like himself, and received his absolution. For whereas the canons of the ancient Church would have subjected such an one to a penance for many years, no sins at this day make a priest irregular, but such as are very enormous and notorious. Now

* Mem. et instruct. pour le Concil. de Trent de Mrs. du Pui.

fornication in the Church of Rome is not accounted an enormous vice, and such as merits deposition ; and by notorious sins, they mean only those which the guilty person hath confessed before his judge, or that are clearly proved against him, or for which he hath been publicly condemned, Tolet.* *ibid.* That which I observe here is, that this custom is constant amongst them ; that all the casuists of that communion agree in this point, though indeed nothing be more contrary to the spirit of the Primitive Church, and of true religion ; nothing wherein the corruption of that Church is more palpable, and nothing consequently whereof she ought to be more ashamed, in case she were in the least sensible of that respect and reverence that is due to the mysteries of religion.

But perhaps the Church of Rome, in abolishing the external part of penance, as it was practised in the ancient Church, has at least retained the essential part of penance, in prescribing to their penitents what is necessary to true conversion. This is that which is done by the Reformed Churches ; for though they have not in all places established the same rules which took place in the Primitive Church, as indeed it was no easy matter to reduce people to those first rules, who had been accustomed to licentiousness under the conduct of the Romish ministry ; yet they have omitted nothing that was necessary to give their penitents a true aversion from vice. But alas ! the Church of Rome hath wholly overthrown the notion of penance, when she teaches that the sacrament of penance, being joined with the simple attrition of the sinner, is sufficient to put him into a state of grace, and truly to reconcile him to God. We must a little explain this doctrine, that the horridness of it may appear ; and to make it evident that nothing doth more palpably overthrow the spirit of religion.

Contrition, according to the sentiment of the Church of Rome, imports a sorrow for our having offended God, not only because he can damn sinners, but also because he is infinitely worthy of our obedience and love. Contrition therefore supposeth not only the fear of hell, but also the love of God, which retakes its place in the sinner's soul, and which leads him again to the obedience of so good a God, whom he hath been so unhappy to offend. Attrition, on the contrary, according to their opinion, doth not import any thing of the love of

* Tolet. Sum. Confess, lib. 1. c. 68. Ant. de Butrio et alii Diuc. ex tenore de remp. ordin. et in eodem at si Clerici depidu.

God in the sinner, but only a fear of hell, which makes him condemn his sin ; it is the fruit only of a slavish fear, arising from the prospect of the punishments designed for sinners. This being so, I desire the reader to judge, whether the Church of Rome have not taken away the essential part of repentance, in receiving for one of her maxims, that attrition in conjunction with the sacrament is sufficient to re-instate man in the grace and favour of God. And what though she exhorts sinners to contrition ; is it not evident that the greatest part of sinners, finding great trouble in doing that which they declare sufficient, will find much more difficulty to do what their confessors judge not to be necessary ? though without doubt it be the better and surer way.

To set this dangerous overthrow of repentance in a clear light, it will be sufficient to do two things ; the first is to prove, that attrition imports no more, than what we have declared just now to be the opinion of the Church of Rome ; the other is, that this attrition, with the sacrament of penance, is sufficient to put a man in a state of grace. If we prove both these points, it will be as clear as the day, that man may be restored to favour with God, without any act of the love of God ; which is a doctrine as far estranged and remote from the nature of true repentance, as any thing the spirit of man is capable to conceive.

Now we need not consult some singular casuist, to prove that the definition of attrition, such as we have set it down, is the common opinion of the Romish Church. Since first she distinguished between attrition and contrition, this has been the common notion amongst her divines ; for they look upon infused charity, as an effect of the sacrament of penance, whose essence they say consists in these words of the priest, when he saith to the penitent, " I absolve thee ;" for so Father Amolet declares himself in his abridgment of Divinity in French, book 9. chap. 3. p. 689 ; and the famous mendicant Peter St. Joseph speaks to the same purpose in his Idea of Divinity concerning the Sacrament, lib. 3. cap. 2. The Canonnists themselves are of the same opinion. Abbot Fagnani, the greatest canonist of his time, declares in his work upon the Decretals,* dedicated to Pope Alexander VII., that the priests of the Greek Church ought conditionally to be re-ordained ; for that the greatest part of them being ordained

* In 2 Parts. Decr. de Sac. Unct. cap. cum venisset, n. 97.

only with the imposition of hands, charity persuades us to re-ordain them conditionally, because of the danger of souls, especially in the case of the sacrament of penance, which would be of no avail to those who are attrite, should they be absolved by one that wants the character of priesthood; which he proves by the 4th and 7th chapters of the fourteenth session of the Council of Trent. The casuists make no doubt of the point. This is the doctrine of Eschobar in his famous Synopsis of Moral Divinity, of the 37th edition, Tract. 7. cap. 4. as also of the famous Benedict Rhemy Noydens in his Practice of Curates, the 14th edition, printed at Madrid, with all manner of approbations in 1674, Tract. 5. cap. 5. n. 5. The same doctrine we find in the Catechisms for the children of that communion: the Christian Instruction, or Catechism printed in 1665 at Paris, and ordered to be alone taught throughout that diocese, declares itself thus, page 65. Lesson the 6th, concerning contrition. “*Question.* What is imperfect contrition? *Answer.* It is a sorrow for having offended God, because of his justice, which is not sufficient for the pardon of our sins, if it be not joined with confession.” That which is considerable in this point is, that with one accord they give us a reason,* which, according to their hypothesis, is decisive in this matter, *viz.* If charity were found in the sinner, he would already be in a state of grace; but the sinner is not in a state of grace before he has received the sacrament; therefore attrition is an imperfect state, which leaves something for the sacrament to do; and on this account differs from contrition, which re-instates a man in grace, as being accompanied with charity. And in case we should not be convinced with the force of this reason, they endeavour the same by two other much more irresistible arguments; the first whereof is, because the point had been thus determined by the Council of Trent, Sess. 14. cap. 4. as may be seen in Amelot and à St. Joseph, at the places before cited.† The second is, that they give to the words of the priest, “I absolve thee,” a sense that necessarily imports this notion: “I absolve thee,” saith Escobar, that is to say, “I confer the grace which is expulsive of sin.” See the sense of this form of words in P. à St. Joseph in Thes. Univers. Theolog. in Poenit. p. 110: “I confer upon thee the sanctifying grace, which of itself forgives sins.”

* Petrus a St. Joseph Idea Theologiæ Sacram. lib. 3. c. 2.

† Theol. Moral. Tract 7. Ex. 4. c. 2. n. 11.

The second article which imports that attrition is sufficient being joined with the sacrament of penance, is altogether conformable to the notions of the Council of Trent,* from whence the Roman divines draw their definition. In effect, we are to observe three things here, which clearly decide the point: the first is, that since the Council of Trent, we find few divines that defend the ancient opinion of the necessity of contrition, the contrary opinion having gained so much ground, as well speculatively as practically, that nothing is more generally believed and taught. Benedict, in his *Summa de Peccat.* lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 842, makes the difference between repentance considered as a virtue, and as a sacrament, *viz.* that all those of old that died before the ascension of Christ, without perfect contrition, are lost; the case not being so with us, who may be saved by attrition alone, by means of the sacrament of penance, which confers grace and remission of sins, *ex opere operato*, which the virtue of penance cannot do. The second is, that it is so certain a thing with them, that attrition is sufficient, that the directors are content and satisfied, in case their penitents have but felt the motion of attrition at the time when they made reflection on their sins in order to confess them,† though they feel no such motion whilst they are confessing. The third is, that a father of the oratory having declared in his remarks upon a treatise of St. Augustin, that repentance cannot be true, entire, nor assured, if it want the conditions of true contrition, and that without it the grace of the sacrament of penance cannot be obtained, the Divinity Faculty of Paris condemned the said proposition as contrary to the peace and quiet of souls, and to the confirmed practice of the Church, capable to diminish the efficacy of the sacrament of penance, rash and erroneous. This decree was made the 1st of July, 1638, whence it sufficiently appears, that some divines favouring the doctrine of St. Austin, for endeavouring to oppose themselves to the torrent that threatened to overthrow the ancient opinion, have been most solemnly condemned by that faculty.

I acknowledge there have always been some divines, who though they teach that simple attrition is sufficient with the sacrament, yet endeavour to sweeten that opinion, which in all appearance was not very pleasing to them; these by attrition

* Sess. 14. cap. 4. [ut supra, vol. 14. p. 817.]

† Petr. a St. Joseph Idea Theol. de Sacr. 1. 3. c. 2. resol. 5.

understand an imperfect contrition, which supposeth some degree of the love of God. But at the same time it is true, 1. That these very divines acknowledge charity to be the fruit of absolution, and believe that this imperfect contrition would not be sufficient without the sacrament, to restore a sinner to the state of grace. This they express in conformity to the Council of Trent, which doth consider these motions only as dispositions to that grace, which is conferred in the sacrament ; and grace and charity, according to them, differ only in notion. 2. It is true that the opposite opinion, which holds that attrition imports nothing of the love of God, but only a sorrow produced by the fear of hell, doth generally obtain amongst those of the Roman communion. It is hard to conceive how a belief so contrary to the notion of repentance could ever enter into the seat of confession, and yet most sure it is, that it both is, and bears sway there.

Some authors of the Roman Church ingenuously acknowledge, that the opinion which supposeth that contrition is not necessary to a penitent, but that attrition becomes contrition by means of the sacrament, is of no long standing, Soto, in 4. dist. 18. q. 3. Art. 2. Yea it seems as if Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, who assisted at the Council of Trent, was the first that broached this doctrine, that attrition joined with the sacrament of penance sufficeth, Dist. 13. *de Pœnit.* Art. 7. n. 5, and 6. But withal says, that the surest way is to exert an act of contrition, when danger of death obliges a sinner to confess. In the mean time, let us consider how far this doctrine pleased the divines of Rome ; many of the most famous of them have highly maintained this opinion of Melchior Canus, and positively deny that a sinner is obliged to produce any act of contrition, or of the love of God, in order to be reconciled with him, provided he makes use of confession.* These doctors maintain, says the famous P. Morinus, that the power only of loving God, produced by the sacrament in the souls of the ungodly, who are struck with the terror of hell, doth justify them, and reconcile them to God ; and furthermore, that it is not needful to love God sometimes, or so much as once during one's life, or to conceive the least sorrow for having so grievously offended him ; yea, though a sinner should have hated God to his last breath. Lastly, that

* *De Pœnit.* lib. 8. c. 4.

the faculty of loving God, produced by the sacrament, is far more excellent than the very act of love and contrition itself.

It is hard to conceive there should be any arguments to defend so prodigious an opinion ; but these authors are not at all to seek for them, and those very solid too, if we will believe them : they maintain that the excellence and prerogative of the sacraments of the Gospel, above those of the old law, appears chiefly in this, that the sacraments of the Gospel have delivered Christians from the heavy yoke of contrition, and the love of God. They pronounce with a master-like authority, that when Jesus Christ established the necessity of confession, he took away the necessity of the love of God, being appeased by the habit of loving God, for fear of over-charging the ungodly, and those that hate God, with too heavy a burden. These are the reasons alleged by Henriquez, lib. 4. Sum. c. 6. n. 5. The same is also the doctrine of Vasquez, in 4. part. q. 86. art. 2. dub. 6. Of Becanus, cap. 25. *de Pœnit.* q. 7. n. 3. Of Laymannus in his *Moral Divinity*, lib. 5. tr. 6. c. 2. Of Lopez, in his *Instruct. Conscientiae*, cap. 12. q. 3. Of Pesantius in his additions to St. Thomas, q. 5. disp. 4. Of Puteanus, in 3. p. q. 90. 1 part. dub. *ultim.* Of the famous Nicholas Isambert, professor of the faculty of Paris, disp. 14. *de Pœnit.* art. 11. n. 6. and disp. 13. art. 6, and 7, and many others, especially of the modern doctors.

I do not think it needful to shew how opposite the Gospel is to this opinion of the modern doctors, nor how contrary the same is to the judgment of antiquity. There are some errors so absurd, that the serious refuting of them, gives them a kind of authority. There is no Christian, whose soul and notions are not corrupted by the conduct of such doctors, that can consider this doctrine otherwise than ungodly, and the society which defends or tolerates it, as a society extremely corrupt. We shall necessarily pass this judgment, if we consider the folly of that principle on which they found this prodigious overthrow of repentance. We may suppose them fallen into this horrible opinion, by following the notions of the modern Schoolmen, and the Council of Trent, concerning the nature and form of absolution. They set down two things which very naturally lead thereto ; the one is, that absolution which they take to be the essentiality of the sacrament of penance, confession and satisfaction according to them being only the integral parts of it, is an act of a judge who pronounceth and pardoneth the penitent, which they gather from the form of

words used in confession, *absolvo te*. The other is, that the sacraments of the Gospel conferring grace, *ex opere operato*, the infusion of grace is the infallible effect of absolution; whence they very naturally conclude, that neither habitual, nor actual charity is acquired before the sacrament, which otherwise would be useless.

My intent is not to search to the bottom of these two absurd propositions; it shall suffice me to evidence to the reader how far the Church of Rome, who furnisheth her new doctors with such principles, the consequences of which make a Christian's heart to tremble, is departed from the doctrine of the Gospel, primitive antiquity, and even from the greatest part of her own schoolmen. Notwithstanding, the Church of Rome at this day teaches, that by virtue of those words, "To whomsoever you forgive their sins, they shall be forgiven;" the priests are established judges in the tribunal of penance; yea such judges by virtue of their character, that without their absolution *in re, aut in voto*, it is impossible to obtain remission of sin; yet we maintain on the contrary, that the Primitive Church never drew any such inference from those words of our Saviour, no more than we draw that authority from them for the ministers of our communion. I will not build any thing upon what Scotus acknowledges, who pretends that public penance, such as was used in the Primitive Church, was not the sacramental penance, wherein he is followed by Angelus de Clavasio, and Gabriel Biel. Nor do I take notice that the Roman Penitential, decreed by Halitgarius in the 9th century, and published by P. Morinus, declares in so many words, that in the absence of a bishop or priest, a deacon may reconcile a penitent; which shews that the absolution hath nothing common with that of the Church of Rome at this day, which cannot be given but by him who hath the character of a priest or bishop. However, it follows from hence, either that this authority of absolving penitents, was not then owned, because no other penance was ever practised by the whole Church, besides the public penance, as the most learned of the Roman communion do acknowledge; or that this authority of absolving sinners, was only considered as an act, whose only effect was to evidence, that the penitent entered again into the communion of the Church, whence he had been excluded.

But I will take notice of three or four things, which evidence beyond exception, though we should grant that the public penance of the ancients was a sacramental penance, that they

had quite another notion of the absolution given to penitents, than the Church of Rome at present hath. The first thing I observe is, that the Church for some time did exclude from the right of public penance, those that were fallen into idolatry, murder, or adultery; this is a truth taken notice of by Sirmondus, Morinus, and divers other learned men of the Roman communion. Whereupon it is very obvious to make these two reflections; the first is, that the Church which was but newly come from under the discipline of the Apostles themselves, did not believe that the absolution given to those that were admitted to penance, was a judicial act, without which it was impossible that the sinner's guilt should be pardoned; for had she been of the opinion which the church of Rome now maintains, no cruelty could have been greater than to refuse penance to a penitent, because without it, it is impossible for him to obtain absolution, which they suppose of absolute necessity to the pardon of his sins. The second reflection we are to make on this rigour of the ancients is, that their Church could never believe that this absolution had the virtue of conferring grace, *ex opere operato*, as the Roman school terms it, because it would be as great a cruelty as the former, to deny a sinner that ardently desires it, the only means of obtaining grace, which depends upon the use of the sacrament.

The second thing I observe is no less decisive, if we compare the practice of antiquity for many ages together, with the general practice of the Roman Church, which is diametrically opposite to it. The behaviour of the Primitive Church to sinners was this: she admitted them to public penance for the first time; but if they chanced to relapse into the same or like crimes, for which they had done penance, she did not admit them again. Some authors of the Roman communion have thought they could disentangle themselves from this difficulty, by saying that the Church only admitted them to particular penance; but learned men of their communion have so fully evidenced the falseness of this pretension, that this subterfuge will scarce be made use of. On the contrary, let us take a view of the frequent repetition of penances in the Roman communion; of the reiterated exhortations to have recourse continually to this sacrament, where remission of sin and grace is to be found; and we shall easily perceive that the primitive Church, whose practice was so different from that of the Church of Rome, was as much estranged from her opinions on the two points we have just now considered.

A third thing I observe, as very proper to make this matter appear as clear as the day, is, that the whole Church during the twelve first centuries, constantly believed these two things. 1. That contrition and charity were absolutely necessary in order to reconciliation with God. 2. That the absolution of the sinner was granted to him at the moment of his contrition ; the absolution he received of the priest, not effecting the pardon of sin, but only procuring an entrance into the church, from whence he was banished for the offence he had given. It would be an easy matter for me to prove the first of these truths, if Abbot Doileau in a book of his, printed at Louvain, entitled, "Contrition Necessary," had not done it sufficiently to my hand ; wherein he hath followed the opinion of many ancient divines, who do own, that attrition was never acknowledged sufficient, joined with the sacrament, till about the year 1220, about which time this distinction began to be taught amongst the Latins. The second proposition is no less certain, during the first twelve centuries. To quit myself of the trouble of alleging a great crowd of authors and authorities, which would take me up too much time, I shall only take notice, that after the explication St. Jerome hath given of that famous passage, *Et dabo tibi claves regni cælorum* ; he sets down for a maxim, that with God *non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæritur*. And that the priests under the New Testament have no further right than the priests of old had, who examined the lepers ; and there is scarce an author amongst the ancients that does not follow the same notion ; and they have done the same also about the resurrection of Lazarus, whom Jesus Christ raised from the dead, and afterwards ordered his Apostles to unbind him, which only imports the declaration of the pardon of sins, and attributes nothing to absolution of what the Church of Rome ascribes to it. This is the notion Gregory I. gives us of it in his 26th Homily upon the Gospels. St. Eloy of Noyon. Hom. 11. in *Evang.* Paschasius Radbert. l. 8. on the 16th of St. Matthew. Haymo, bishop of Halberstat. *Homil. in Fest. St. Petri et St. Pauli.* Christianus Druthmarus on the 16th of St. Matthew. Raoul of Flaix, lib. 10. in *Levit.* Odo Abbas Clugniacensis in his Sermon upon Magdalen. Burchardus bishop of Worms, *Decreti sui*, lib. 9. cap. 32. Yves of Chartres, Epist. 128. Rupertus, abbot of Thuits, lib. 10. in Math. cap. 11. Bruno, bishop of Signe, in Joan. part 2. cap. 9. Hugo de St. Victore *de Sacrament.* cap. 23.

Lombard. lib. 4. cap. 17. Cardinal Pullus, *Sentent*, part 6. cap. 1. Richardus de St. Victore *de potestate ligandi et solvendi*, cap. 4. Petrus Bloesensis *de Confess. Sacram.* Radulphus Ardens. *Serm. in 1. Dominic. post Pascha.* I conclude with Pope Innocent III. who speaks thus on the 2nd Penitential Psalm, *Remisiisti, ut patenter ostendat quod peccatum prius remittitur per compunctionem a Deo, quam pronuntietur per confessionem ab homine.*

To the three foregoing remarks, I will add this important observation, *viz.* That so far was the Primitive Church from believing, as the Church of Rome doth at present, that the form of absolution, *ego absolvo te*, did constitute the essential part of penance, and was the foundation of a tribunal properly so called; I say, so far were the ancient Church from conceiving any such thing, that we may boldly assert, that the said form was not so much as known amongst them; nor does the Church of England use it in the sense the Romans do. There be two things that are incontestable as to this matter, and acknowledged by the most famous doctors of the Roman communion: the one is, that the Primitive Church never attributed the reconciliation of penitent sinners to any thing but the prayers that were made for them, when by the imposition of hands they were admitted to the sacraments. This is that which Morinus proves at large *de Pœnit.* lib. 6. cap. 21. et lib. 8. cap. 8. The same author proves, according to the sense of many of the Fathers, that after confession of sins, absolution was given by the prayers of the priest, lib. 8. cap. 9. He proves that all the ancient rituals have nothing but prayers instead of the form of absolution, *ibid.* cap. 10. And lastly, hereupon he establisheth this considerable truth, that in the Primitive Church they sometimes make use of the same prayers, as well in regard of the subject, as words to impose penance, as to confer absolution, lib. 9. cap. 32; so far were they from believing that it was necessary to absolve the penitent, with some other form than that of prayers; after which the penitents were admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights of which believers were possessed.

The other thing I set down is, that it is absolutely false that ever any Christian Church made use of these words, "I absolve thee," in the act of absolution, save only the Latin Church, and she never did it neither, till about the midst of the 13th century; which change afterwards occasioned a thousand questions and difficulties. We find the history

of this change in one of the works of Thomas Aquinas, who undertook the defence of this form of absolution then newly introduced. It is strange to see the course he takes to establish this novelty ; and we may boldly affirm, that he overthrows almost all arguments taken from the antiquity of the Church, that might be objected to him, as well as the grand argument of tradition. That this was so as I have here represented it, two of the most famous men of that communion have not dared to deny : the one is Morinus, who relates the history thereof, *de Poenit.* lib. 8. cap. 20, &c. The other is the late M. de Launoy in one of his epistles to Father Baron a Dominican.

I suppose these four reflections sufficient to evidence to any judicious reader, how much the Church of Rome hath innovated about the nature of absolution, and with what rashness they have erected a tribunal for their priests, whence they pronounce with the authority of judges, grounding their proceedings on the words of our Saviour ; but if we should grant them, that the words of our Saviour give the ministers a right to pronounce these words, and make use of that form, which after all, ought only to be taken in a sense of declaration to the penitent, after one is assured of the truth of his contrition and repentance ; how can the Church of Rome defend the sense they have affixed to these words, “I absolve thee,” that is, I confer upon thee sanctifying grace ? Surely error was fain to take a long stretch to advance so far. Melchior Canus, p. 4. *Select. de Sacramentis in Genere*, declares that the Schoolmen were much at variance about the manner how sacraments are the cause of grace, being so far from explaining the matter, that they only confound the readers with the diversity of their opinions ; and that there was no one point about which there was greater dissesnion, not only amongst the ignorant but also amongst learned men. Some conceive them to be physical causes, as the fire is the cause of burning ; others consider them as conditions, without which, grace cannot be produced. So that a chaos of obscurities ariseth from the different manner of explaining those various kinds of causality maintained by the Schoolmen. But what matters it if the light be clouded by these mists, as long as a divine ray darted from the midst of these obscurities, reveals to the doctors of the Romish Church, that is grace conferred by these words, *Absolvo te, i. e.* I confer sanctifying grace ? We never heard any thing of infused habits before the 12th cen-

tury, the Schoolmen having hammered that notion on the anvil of Aristotle's writings, as Doctor Boisleau acknowledges in his treatise of Necessary Contrition, chap. iii. In the mean time, this doctrine at last hath carried it, and this belief being once formed, that grace is conferred in the sacraments, and that the essentiality of the sacrament consists in these words, *Ego absolvo te*, they have built thereupon, as a point altogether incontestable, that the conferring of grace absolutely depends on those words pronounced by the priest. The Church for many ages, had simply believed that the prayers pronounced in the name of the Church in behalf of the penitents, obtained from God the grace of the remission of their sins, which they had publicly confessed with great humility. Now the intention of the Romish Church being changed, she hath also altered the sense and meaning of those prayers, which were no longer of any use, since the priests were established judges, and God had invested them with the power of conferring that grace, which restores the sinner to that state from whence he was fallen by his sin.

I scarce know whether it be possible to conceive a more terrible overturning than that I have now represented. If the matter were less important, the danger would not be so great, but the salvation of souls being concerned therein, it is apparent that this overturning can never be sufficiently exaggerated. Let us now, after all, take a view of those works which the Church of Rome imposes upon penitents, under the notion of satisfaction, to appease the justice of God. My intent is not now to examine whether the Romish Church have not in this regard also, overthrown the notion of the primitive Church; neither will I insist on the custom of that Church, to give the absolution before any satisfaction was made; the first of these particulars would cast me upon a controversy too speculative for the discourse I intend; and for the second, *viz.* the overturning of the primitive order, that is but too palpable and too notorious to be excused or defended, notwithstanding all the artifices that have been made use of for that purpose. The Jansenists, after Monsieur Arnaud, have opened the eyes of all the world as to this point; and though they have not been able to reclaim the judgments of the doctors of their communion, at least they have made it evident that all those who make any reflection on things, cannot dissemble their dislike of such a strange overturning, caused by men who boast of nothing more than their adhering to the maxims of antiquity.

Some, it may be, will imagine, that because the Church of Rome considers satisfaction as a part of penance, she does not exclude the love of God from the number of those acts that are necessary to restore a man to the state of grace, seeing she imposeth for satisfaction, fasting, prayers and alms, which she calls satisfactory works. But those that think so, merely delude themselves, and overthrow the tribunal of penance according to the judgment of the Romish divines. The reason is evident ; for if the Romish Church did not believe that the absolution of the priest was a judicial act properly so called ; if she were content to teach as the Protestants do, that it is only a declaration made to the sinner, that God pardons him if his repentance be sincere ; it might easily be maintained, that the sinner is not restored to a state of grace, till he be restored to that of charity. But it is too much the interest of Rome to maintain that the priest is a judge in the tribunal of confession, ever to make use of such an answer. See here another inconvenience she ought to take all the care imaginable to avoid, for were people once persuaded, that absolution is not efficacious, as soon as pronounced, it would give a great advantage to those, who have endeavoured to renew the custom of deferring absolution, till after the sinner has performed the penance imposed on him ; which would soon overthrow all the great advantages which are reaped from the tribunal of confession.

Thus it appears clearly, that the Church of Rome hath not only abolished the external troublesome part of ancient penance, but hath also abrogated that which is the most essential inward part thereof, *i. e.* the necessity of contrition, and the love of God, without which it is evident that absolution, which is the sole act of the priest, is of none effect.

I am not ignorant that it may seem to some as if I dealt too hardly with the Church of Rome, in maintaining that she hath overthrown all the rights of penance ; for she seems to aim at nothing less, than to let sinners go unpunished ; her pastors that pardon like judges, do also impose penalties as judges, proportionable to the offence against God, and put the sinner upon penitential acts, according as they think just for to appease the Divinity. To make out the vanity of this objection, I need only in few words to set down the opinions of the Church of Rome about the matter of indulgences : for we cannot know this affair without comprehending that the Popes who are the authors of indulgences, and who have infinitely multiplied

their concessions of that nature, have totally abolished all necessity of discharging the acts of penance.

The first indulgences that ever were heard of, were granted by Gregory VII. whom the Church of Rome hath ranked among her martyrs ; he granted pardon of sins to all those who would take up arms against his enemies ; as appears from a letter he wrote on this matter to Anselm of Lucca, his legate. This example of his was soon imitated by Pope Urban II. at the Council of Cleremont in Auvergne, where he made use of this expedient to incline the Christians of the West, to undertake the Holy War. This Pope was induced hereunto by the suggestion of one Peter, a hermit of the diocese of Amiens, upon account of a vision he had seen in the temple of Jerusalem. At that time there remained yet some shadow of the ancient severity accommodated to the barbarous genius of those times ; but this indulgence of the Pope, did in a manner wholly abolish all those remains in the west : for those who were willing to undertake this voyage, were not only acquitted from performing their imposed penance, but they also who gave any assistance to these pilgrims, enjoyed the same dispensation. Father Maimbourg hath sufficiently declared the goodly success of these excellent enterprises, which continued till after the middle of the 13th century, in overthrowing the discipline of penance. Father Morinus hath done the same in Latin, by recounting the authors that set themselves against these dispensations, of which the Popes were the authors.

The bishops also taking example by the Pope, increased the said corruptions, by granting indulgences for repairing of bridges, and highways, and for the building of churches : but they not having so unlimited a power as the Popes, whose example they followed, the Church of Rome is particularly obliged to Pope Boniface VIII. for the total ruin of discipline ; the happy invention of the jubilee being due to him ; a cardinal of his house hath set down the history of the invention, and it is hard to determine whether we ought more to be astonished at the impudence of a cheat they produced, who pretended to have assisted at a jubilee 100 years before, at the boldness of those that countenanced this cheat, or the sottishness of all Europe whom the Pope caught in a net so ill spread, every one carrying to Rome immense sums of money to buy the pardon of their sins, and indulgences, which the Pope at that time dispensed to all sorts of sinners, *etiam non contritis nec confessis*, they are the words of Corio of Milan,

who gives us the history thereof. But since that time the Popes have shortened the time of those jubilees, have granted indulgences upon all accounts whatsoever, and for money have given them in all places, to all orders, almost to all churches, to certain altars, to release souls out of purgatory by getting a mass said for them there ; by which means the fear of censures have been in a manner wholly abolished ; and that of purgatory much diminished by this easy way of getting rid from thence, only by procuring a mass to be said at one of these privileged altars.

But yet some will say, that the priests impose very severe penances in the tribunal of confession. This is not a thing absolutely true, if we consider the carriage of confessors, and the character of some sinners. We know that in many cases the priest cannot impose any penance at all ; and that in many other, sinners may be dispensed with from undergoing them. Petrus de St. Josepheo treats at large of these cases, in his Idea of Theology upon the Sacraments, lib. iii. cap. 4. We know also the opinion and practice of a great number of divines and directors, who maintain that a sinner satisfies not only by works of supererogation, but also by those he is obliged to do ; so that in keeping the commands of God, he satisfies for the punishment of his sins. This is the doctrine of St. Thomas, Richard, Giles of Rome, Gabriel, St. Anthony, and Cajetan ; which makes Benedict observe,* that when a confessor doth not impose any other satisfaction, he must at least hint thus much to them, to the end that these good works may serve instead of satisfaction. But supposing that the cases wherein the confessors impose no penance at all, were very rare, yet we must own these three considerable points as to this matter ; one is, that sinners may lawfully refuse the penances imposed on them, in case they be willing to satisfy for the same default in purgatory ; another is, that the Church of Rome hath reduced the greatest part of her satisfactory works to a certain number of things which may easily be performed by a *third* person, by which means, he who hath committed the sin, is wholly discharged of that trouble, and is of special use to keep up the credit of monks, who take upon them these penances to the great ease of sinners. The third is, that by her indulgences she has made the terrors of purgatory of no use, nothing being more easy than to get out from thence.

* Summa de Peccat. l. 5. c. 5. p. 987.

First then, I say, that it is the current doctrine of the Church of Rome, that a sinner may refuse the penances imposed on him, if at the same time he submit himself to undergo them in purgatory. But forasmuch as this doctrine may be unknown to those who are not acquainted with the secrets of the seat of confession, I think myself obliged solidly to evince the same ; which I can no way better perform than by shewing that this is the opinion of the most famous canonists, of most divines, and practised at Rome, and in all the churches of its communion. 1. The Cardinal de Hostia *in cap. significavit. de Poenitent. et Remissione*, maintains expressly, that if a penitent cannot perform the penance imposed on him, if he be contrite, the priest ought to absolve him with some slight penance, or without any at all, if he says he cannot perform the same ; the reason is, because if he do not perform his penance here, he shall satisfy for it in purgatory. Panormitanus teaches the same thing on the same chapter ;* as also the author of the book Rosella 5. Confessio. 1. n. 10.

Their divines are of the same opinion ; as we may see in Scotus in 4. dist. 18. *Quæst. unica* ; in Gabriel in 4. dist. 10. dub. 1. in Cajetan *in Summa*. 5. *Satisfactio* ; in Medina *Codex de Confess.* q. 4, and in Beia, p. 3. *in respons.* cas. 3. See how an author that passeth under the name of the famous Gerson, expresses himself on this point :† “ It is the surer way,” says he, “ to send sinners to purgatory with a slight penance, to which they are willing to submit, and which probably they will perform, than to cast them into hell by imposing on them a great penance they will never perform. He that puts off his penance to the other world, doth foolishly indeed ; yet ought to be absolved, if he does not do it, because he believes there is no purgatory ; but because of tenderness, weakness, or poverty.” The same opinion we find in Scotus, Gabriel, Cajetan, Sylvester, Medina, Tannorus, t. 4. d. 6. q. 3. dub. 2. And that it may appear that this is not only some private opinion, we must observe that this a definition of the Council of Langres held in the year 1507. For speaking of penitents,‡ it charges the priests to have a care not to lay difficult and burthensome penances upon them, but such only as they believe the penitent can and will do, lest he should increase his sin, in not performing his penance, though they

* In cap. significavit. de poenit. et remiss.

† Tom. 2. p. 35.

‡ Bochet. Decret. Eccles. Gallic.

shall enjoin nothing but an Ave Maria : for it is sufficient for the priest, adds the Council, that his penitent is absolved, and to put off his penance to purgatory, since he cannot send him to paradise. In a word, this is the constant and authorized practice of the Roman Church. Navarrus maintains this opinion, because he finds it received at Rome, and over all the world, that absolution is not refused to any for that reason alone, because he will not accept of the penance imposed on him ; and Father Vagnarek, a Jesuit, famous by his writings on the Decretals, calls him an ignorant and rash fellow, who had accused the opinion of Cardinal de Hostia, of singularity.

I say, in the second place,* that it is a constant belief and practice, that penance may be performed by means of a third person. It is a thing well known, that the religious in Spain play for their penances imposed on them by their confessors, at ticktack ; they that have the bad luck to lose, charging themselves with the burden of them. Thomas Gage relates the same of his own observation, as practised in the West Indies : but because this may be looked upon as a thing irregular, and not authorized, I shall not insist on it, but will tie myself to public custom. 1. The Roman school teaches, that the satisfactions performed by a third person, may be imputed to another, and it is the very foundation of indulgences, whose treasury contains all the superfluous satisfactions of the saints, who suffered more than they were obliged to do. This cannot be denied, if we consider that Bellarmine hath writ on this point, *de Ind.* l. 1. c. 2. and l. 2. c. 4, and what other divines of the same school do maintain with one accord, since the time of Luther, in defence of indulgences. 2. We are to observe, that the Pope not only lays up in this treasury the satisfactions of those who are dead, but also of the living, who perform more penitential works than they are obliged to do. 3. There is nothing more common than to undergo penances, for relieving of souls in purgatory. 4. It is also very common in that communion, to charge a friend, male or female, with the penance one hath accepted of. Thomas Aquinas maintains on this principle, that they did not publish the sins of persons submitted to public penance ; and the reason he allegeth is, because a person may submit himself thereto for another ; which makes that the penance any one undergoes, cannot serve to

* Alex. Alen. q. 83, 85. Thom. in 4. dist. 20. q. 13. Benedict. Summa de Peccat. l. 5. c. 5. [ut supra.]

make his sin public, forasmuch as it may not be undertaken for his own sin. The Gloss of the Canon Law pretends, that a son may fast instead of his father, a brother for a sister, and so of the rest.

In effect, it is but too well known, that according to this commodious maxim, persons of quality, and such as are nice and delicate, being willing to be quit of the trouble of fasting, send a daughter of their family to a convent, who is charged with a commission of fasting and praying for them, and undergoing the penances imposed upon them. Famous universities have authorized the like substitutions, *servatis conditionibus*, being consulted in such cases. So that we see they have found a mean to make the yoke of penance the most light and easy yoke imaginable.

Last of all, I say, that the Pope hath made a mere goblin of purgatory, which can no longer fright any but children ; and from henceforth he that lights in there, or continues there, may thank himself. For who knows not how many ways there be to avoid ever coming there, or to get out presently, in case a sinner have been negligent of making use of those in his lifetime ? One only mass said at a privileged altar, does the business, and the charge is very moderate. They broke their heads formerly in procuring a great number of masses to be said, every one paying for a great many in one monastery. These foundations and obligations of saying masses, being so far multiplied, that there were neither priests nor days enough for to answer them all ; but a good remedy has been found out for one conventional mass answers all, and equally satisfies for all ; things being in these terms, a sinner must be very timid to apprehend the flames of purgatory ; when the flames of hell be not capable to stop his passions, I say the flames of hell, against which there is no remedy. We may easily imagine what impression the flames of purgatory can have upon their spirits, which may be so easily, so surely, and so cheaply remedied or avoided.

There remains only one thing to be considered, which seems to form an objection against what is here set down ; and that is, the nature of the penances that are imposed in the tribunal of confession ; the penitents are there submitted to fasting, prayers, and alms; these are the very essentials and distinguishing characters of penance established in the Church of Rome, whatever alteration there may have been made in the acts of penance ; and though the nature of it has been much ener-

vated to authorize this tribunal, which sets sin at so cheap a rate: but this very thing makes it evident, that there cannot be a greater or more deplorable overturning of repentance, than that which we object to the Church of Rome; as may with ease be made out.

What properly is the prayer of a penitent, if we will judge of it with the least attention? Without doubt his prayer must suppose a confession of his sin, and an entreating of forgiveness; to be convinced of this, we need only to read the fifty-first Psalm; but what is the prayer of a penitent according to the sense of the Church of Rome?* It is chiefly the requesting of the pardon of venial sins, which are not any matter of confession, God pardoning them without any prayer or request on the sinner's side; and not the asking of pardon for mortal sins, which indeed is almost wholly useless, because God doth not grant the pardon of mortal sins, but by the mouth of priests, who are judges in the tribunal of confession. So that the satisfactions, of which prayers are a part, not being imposed, but at the time when the sinner is reconciled by absolution from the priest, it follows that those prayers are not for to obtain the absolution already received in the sacrament, so as nothing is left to be prayed for, but only the remission of venial sins. To make us the more sensible of this mystery, we are to know that the divines of the Church of Rome maintain, that when in the Lord's prayer we beg the pardon of our sins; we do not ordinarily beg the pardon of our mortal sins, but more commonly that of our venial sins only. The Jansenists have in this point followed the stream of their school, in their explication of the Lord's prayer. The consequence of this doctrine is terrible; for if it be true that in that prayer we ask chiefly of God the remission of slight sins, then we are not obliged but only to the forgiving of the lesser offences of those that offend us; which maxim would suit very well with the revengeful, to whom otherwise this prayer must needs be very uneasy.

If the Church of Rome had not defined, that these words of the priest spoken to the penitent, "I absolve thee," are the form of the sacrament of penance; one might imagine that the prayers which the priest presents to God for the sinner, whether before or after his absolution, must have some effect towards the obtaining the pardon of sins, if those which the

* Bellarm. 1. 1. de Bonis Operibus, c. 6. [vol. 4. p. 593. Prag. 1721.]

priest imposes should not be successful enough to concur to the said remission ; but the divines of the Roman Church are so afraid to cast the least blemish upon the jurisdiction of the priests, that they expressly declare, that the prayers which the priest pronounceth on this occasion, though he seem instantly to demand forgiveness of the sin or sins of his penitent, do not in the least contribute to the said remission. See what Benedict tells us as to this point in his Summa, lib. 5. cap. 1. "The form of this sacrament," saith he, "are the sacramental words which the priest pronounceth over the penitent, saying, I absolve thee from thy sins, in the name of the Father, &c. all the other words and prayers uttered before and after absolution, are not essential to the sacrament." He proves this by the authority of Scotus, in 4 Dist. 14. q. 4, as also by that of the Council of Trent, Sess. 14. cap. 3.

However it be, the Roman Church believes she has a solid ground for giving this sense to that article of the Lord's prayer we before mentioned ; her reason is, because the Lord's prayer is the prayer of children ; that is, of those that are in a state of grace ;* now because there is no re-entering into that state, when one is gone out from it, but by the absolution of the priest, it seems ridiculous to believe, either that in this article we ask a grace of God, which he is resolved not to grant to any one's prayer ; or that we only ask the forgiveness of venial sins ; now this being granted, is it not a fine trick to impose upon a penitent the saying of the Lord's prayer two or three hundred times over, as the practice commonly is, and to believe at the same time that he scarcely all this while asks pardon of God for the sin of which he is guilty, and for which he is put upon praying ? In truth, it is almost impossible to conceive how far this error extends itself. I take it for an incontestable truth, that the Lord's prayer is a model or form of the prayers we are to present to God ; and therefore, I think, we ought not to suppose that the Church of Rome prescribes other prayers, without reducing them to the same sense, as to the matter of remission of sins, which she has put upon the Lord's prayer. Now whether prayers with that limitation are to be accounted truly Christian prayers, I leave to all those to examine, who have not stifled all the dictates of conscience.

As for the fasting that is imposed on penitents, the illu-

* Bellar. ubi supra.

sion therein is as palpable, as in the foregoing article: here it is that the maxim of M. de Laubespine, bishop of Orleans, takes place, that the names of antiquity continue, after that the things themselves are greatly changed from what they were then. Amongst all people that ever have been, or yet are in the world (except the Latins for some late ages), to fast, hath and doth still signify an abstinence from all sorts of meat, during the time of the fast; God explains it so in his law; the former practice of the Latin Church was so, and the thing is acknowledged by authors of the Roman communion.* But it is no more so now in the Roman Church, but only distinction of meats; it is no more a total abstinence, for they have leave to eat and drink before supper on those days of mourning. If you ask them who hath thus changed the nature of things? They answer, that it is the effect of custom, and they establish it for a maxim, that custom hath power to derogate from the law. Avendan. *Thesauri Indici*, p. 216. n. 272. Diana, p. 1. Tr. 9. Resol. 21.† They tell us very sincerely, that notwithstanding the opposition of the ancient law, they have reduced fasting to eating once at noon, and a collation in the afternoon; and that for the rest, their Church doth not simply prohibit those things which are not taken chiefly for nourishment, as electuaries and aromatical confections: for that though they nourish a little, yet are chiefly made use of to help digestion. St. Thomas Aquin. 2. 2. q. 147. a. 6. After all this, it is not needful to set down the mitigations the casuists afford their penitents on this point, nor to reckon up the several sorts of people that are dispensed from it; it being very evident, that fasting is a word that signifies nothing in that communion, and is of no use in penance properly so called.

It is also as clear, that the alms wherewith the penitents can be charged, are so inconsiderable, that they are not worth speaking of. 1. It is apparent that a confessor cannot impose this kind of penance upon those who by their state and condition have no right to give alms; for all the casuists agree, that alms suppose a right over the thing that is given; therefore all those who are under the power of another, cannot be obliged to give alms; whence it follows, that children, servants, wives, and other like persons, can give but little or nothing; and what they do give, must be presumed to be done with the

* Casal. de Ritib. c. 62. p. 147.

† Casal. ubi supra.

knowledge and permission of the party under whose power they stand. Thus Binsfield adviseth in his Moral Theology ;* so that here we see very happily a great part of mankind excepted from this kind of penance. 2. It is certain, that if some of the Roman divines maintain, that a man who enjoys over and above what the necessities of nature and his condition require, is obliged to give alms to the poor, though they be not in extreme necessity, but only in considerable want ; there is on the other hand a great number, such as Panormitan,† St. Antonian,‡ Rosella,§ Durand, and others, who defend the contrary opinion. Which gives us occasion to make these two reflections ; the first is, that the confessor can only enjoin alms as a good work ; so that if he believes that the obligation to alms-giving doth not take place according to the second opinion, he must not prescribe it. The second, that if the confessor be of the first opinion, and the penitent of the second, he may very well refuse the penance imposed on him, because he is of a contrary opinion to his confessor about the obligation to give alms.

The last casuists having taken a great deal of pains to clear the rights of confessors, and also to make the penitents sensible what their rights are, to refuse penances, or accept of them, I think myself obliged to terminate this matter, by making some reflections upon the great and happy effects their study hath produced for to ease sinners of the severity of penance. The Roman divines and canonists have much bandied the question of probability ; and though at first they were much divided upon the point, yet the strongest and greater party, have so vigorously maintained their maxims and practice, that nothing is wanting to the glory of their triumph. Behold here their grand doctrine, which imports, that as soon as any grave author or confessor maintains any opinion, the same may be followed safely. From which happy discovery it follows, that a confessor may absolve his penitent, yea, may be forced by his penitent to absolve him, though the confessor may be of an opinion opposite to that of the grave author. It is worth our pains to take a view of all the comforts and mitigations which this happy discovery affords to the tribunal of confession ; but this is a subject deserves a particular consideration ; what is already said, is sufficient without that, to

* Page 392. de Eleemosyn. Editio Paris.

† In c. si vero de Jure jur.

‡ 2 pag. tit. 1. cap. 14. v. Eleemos.

§ In Reg. mor. in 4.

evidence that the Roman Church hath caused a great overturning in the matter of penance ; that all the stories she tells us, to set forth her severity, is a mere illusion, and that her insulting over the Protestants in this matter, when carefully examined, produceth as just an aversion against her morals and discipline, as against her opinions. I conclude this discourse with some reflections upon the things therein set down, and I suppose the reader will not find them extravagant from the subject I have undertaken to handle.

The first Reflection.

The first reflection we may make upon my objecting to the Roman Church the overthrow of penance is, that there be several matters of fact that are incontestable, *viz.* the abolition of the external part of penance ; the change of the form of absolution ; the practice of indulgences, and other things believed and practised by virtue of the definition of her Councils and Popes, which by a great part of that communion are looked upon as infallible. So that their overthrowing of penance is a matter of fact that is authentic, and against which, nothing can be excepted. As for those things which are not yet defined by any Councils or Popes, some may think that I impute them unjustly to the Roman Church : to which I have this to answer, that if I ascribe them to the Church of Rome, I have a very good ground for it, and to which nothing that is rational can be opposed ; which is, that in matters in which the conduct and salvation of souls is concerned, we have reason to impute to a society, as the Church of Rome is, what is authorized by public authority, by example, by bishops, by inquisitors, by universities, and in a word, what is publicly permitted by the Pope who is head of that society. If the divines, whose errors we have represented upon the matter of penance, did write without any approbation ; if they were exposed as a prey to the inquisitors ; if they were degraded and banished from their universities ; if the bishops entered the lists with them, as they do against the Jansenists ; if they were censured by the Popes, we should be very unjust in saying that the Roman Church approves their opinions. But there is nothing of all this ; they write with approbation, they are scattered through all the religious orders ; they have a share in the tribunal of the inquisition, and are the ministers of it ; they have the privilege to teach publicly at Rome, as well as in all other places of that communion ; they publicly

refute the books of those who desire to retain the ancient opinions of the Church ; the Pope, who hath his nuncios and inquisitors every where, lets them alone without molesting or condemning them ; the congregation of the Expurgatory Index doth not meddle with them ; they are the directors of the princes of that communion ; in a word, they are the men that rule all, and govern all ; and how can we then do less than charge the Roman Church with the overthrow of penance, which they are the cause of by their opinions and practice ? It is well known that the Pope sometimes makes use of his prudence to avoid bringing himself into trouble ; thus we have seen him dissemble, and not take notice of the definitions of the clergy of France, about the point of his pretended infallibility, and right to depose kings. But yet we see withal, that he hath made the clergy of Hungary act contrary to these definitions ; he hath employed the zeal of the religious of Genoa against the same points ; he hath refused, for the same reasons, to receive the nomination which the king had made of those who assisted at the assembly of the clergy in 1682 ; he hath prohibited the books of Father Alexander, which maintain those definitions. So that whatsoever care he takes to dissemble his resentment, all the world knows he is not well pleased with the definitions of the clergy of France ; and all zealous Papists look upon them as rebels, that revolt against the authority of the holy see. But he hath no reason to fear any such thing from the censuring of those propositions we have mentioned ; because all these, or their books, are subject to his authority ; and in the mean time we do not see that he gives the least mark of his indignation, or inflicts the least censure either on the books or the authors. Wherefore it will not seem strange, if we apply here the maxim of an ancient Pope, which saith, “ that we approve the error we do not correct, when we have right and power so to do.”

The second Reflection.

It will probably appear strange to the reader, that we reproach the Church of Rome for abolishing the external severity of penance, as the same was in use in the first ages of the Church : the reason is because it is unseemly to reproach a disorder we are guilty of ourselves : but I have some very considerable things to return in answer to this also ; the first is, that we have great reason to humble the Roman Church, who prides herself so much in her conformity with the ancient

Church, by representing to her, how far she is estranged from the maxims of antiquity concerning this point of penance. Nothing is more uncouth than the manner wherewith they object to us the contempt of some canons of ancient Councils; we hear them amplifying the illustrious titles they give to the ancient canons, as if they had been dictated by the Holy Ghost; and after all, we find nothing more neglected than they are in the Roman communion. We may therefore with justice object to the Church of Rome, what was said to Rome of old, who objected to Christians the antiquity of her religion; you talk of your antiquity, and yet you change every day. The second is, that we have reason to consider the monastic orders, especially since the thirteenth century, as the corrupters of the severity of religion; it is to them we are beholden for the abolishing of the external part of penance: for as they in the thirteenth century put themselves in possession of the conduct of souls in the seat of confession, so we find that their interest soon made them make use of this way to introduce the foresaid slackness of penance, by means whereof they snatched the people from the conduct of their ordinary pastors. Matthew of Paris takes notice of the maxims of Englishmen, after that Gregory IX. had granted to the Jacobites and Franciscans the power of hearing confessions.* “They lost all manner of respect for their pastors, in whose presence thenceforward they had no occasion to blush; they whispered to one another, ‘Let us do whatever we list, and then confess ourselves to some wandering Jacobite or Franciscan, whom we never saw before, nor shall ever see again. *Et sic,*” saith he, “*contemptis ordinariis et eorum disciplinis, peccatum copiosius exuberavit.*” I say, in the third place, that seeing it is certain among the Protestants, that the external part of penance is nothing else but an outward token of the sorrow a sinner has conceived for his sin, and a care he takes to edify the Church whom by his sin he had scandalized, and not at all any satisfaction to the justice of God, as the Church of Rome believes; the Church of Rome, who hath altogether abolished that which according to her principles she looks upon as a satisfaction of the Divine justice, doth justly deserve to be reproached, for having abolished this external part, which cannot with any justice be laid to the charge of Protestants. The Protestants not regarding the confession made to the

* Ad An. 1246. p. 466 and 467. [Par. 1644.]

priest, as a condition, without which it is impossible to obtain remission of sins, believe that true contrition without it, is sufficient to reinstate a sinner in grace. They have for guarantees of this their opinion, the Apostolical Church, which according to what Father Morinus himself acknowledges, did not practise those penances that were in vogue in the third and fourth centuries ; they have for guarantees all the ancient Church, which did not receive a second time to penance those that relapsed, but referred them to the mercy of God, as St. Austin expresses it, which would have been the most cruel thing in the world, if they had believed that the forgiveness of sin did depend upon the absolution of the priest or bishop ; they are in this of the opinion of those whom Gratian speaks of, Q. 3. *de Paenit.* dist. 1, from the first chapter to the thirty-seventh, and whereof he saith, that this opinion was maintained by very learned and godly men, as well as the other which then was entering the Church, about the necessity of confession to a priest before, cap. 90. But as for the Roman Church, which since the Council of Trent holds the absolute necessity of confession for a thing indubitable, as the Romish correctors have termed it on this chapter of Gratian, and which, by consequence, must look upon the external part of penance, as the same was regulated by the ancient canons, as a true satisfaction, we have just reason to object to her, that of her own private authority, she has quite overturned the said external part.

The third Reflection.

When I fairly and honestly owned that Protestants have not retained the external part of penance, after the manner as it was practised in the ancient Church, I did not pretend to grant that the Protestants did ever in the least contemn the ancient discipline of the Church. They have been very sensible that that rigour and severity was an imitation of the carriage of the Jewish Church ; and that it was practised in those circumstances, which do not occur in the times wherein we live ; they have taken notice, that in process of time, that discipline was almost become barbarous ; especially when it began to be accommodated to the savage genius of the Goths, Vandals, and Burgundians. They have well perceived how much the stupidity of the last ages had altered the notion of it. Indeed nothing can be more ridiculous, than what we read concerning this matter in the legends of the last saints :

but they have not been wanting to retain that, which did most agree with the design of the ancient Church in order to humble sinners. The primitive Church takes notice of the severity of St. Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, after the great bloodshed he had caused at Thessalonica: and the churches of France can allege a like example of the ancient discipline in the person of Henry IV. who could not be admitted to the communion of their churches, till after he had made a public reparation in the church of Rochelle. They have observed the same severity with respect to a great number of other persons of the highest rank, when occasion hath presented; and this discipline has continued amongst them until their dissipation. The same discipline in a manner is practised in the Church of Scotland; and they who are a little versed in the history of the past age, cannot be ignorant, that it was not the prelates of the Church of England's fault that the same was not revived in their communion. This spirit hath always continued amongst them; and though they have not re-established it in its ancient rigour, we cannot but do them this justice, that they have preserved all that was essential, in the manner as it was owned by the Apostles and primitive Christians, which puts them out of the reach of any reproach in this matter.

The fourth Reflection.

As to that which is the internal and essential part of penance, it is certain that the Church of Rome can object nothing against the Protestants, as to that. They have always maintained the ancient belief; that contrition was of absolute necessity in order to be reconciled to God, and to obtain the forgiveness of sin. It was never heard that any of their doctors taught, that attrition was sufficient when joined with the sacrament of penance, that is to say, with absolution. They have seen the Church of Rome adopt this monstrous error, without imitating the upstart divinity of those, of whom they have long since been forced to say, "he that is unclean, let him be unclean still." They have seen, not without being surprised, that if there be yet some Roman divines who defend the opinion of the necessity of contrition, as Doctor Boileau dean of Sens, they are fain to abscond their names, and to write without approbation, and to get their books printed in Flanders, where Jansenism still has some credit, whilst in the mean time those of the contrary opinion

are in the possession of the pulpits and seats of confession, and of the consciences of all the crowned heads of the Roman party. The innocence then of the Protestants, gives them right to deplore the corruption of the morals of the directors of the Roman Church ; it gives them right to look upon those that govern it, as upon men that are not at all concerned for the salvation of the souls committed to their care, whom they suffer miserably to be poisoned with the most pernicious doctrine in the world, and most diametrically opposite to the true spirit of repentance the Gospel prescribes to us, after we have sinned.

The fifth Reflection.

If the Jansenists had had their will, they would have abolished a custom, which the Church of Rome has authorised in the Council of Trent, about the manner of reconciling penitents. It is certain, that it is an unheard-of thing in the ancient Church, to admit a man to the peace of the Church before he had performed the penance imposed on him ; and no persons were dispensed with, but such as were at the point of death. After all, we find that the contrary custom has been introduced into the Church of Rome, only by means of the rashness of confessors, without being authorised by any law whatsoever. It is certain also, that the design of satisfying would be much more assured, experience telling us, that after such a reconciliation, penitents ordinarily take but little care to perform the penance imposed upon them. This delay of reconciliation was made use of formerly as a curb to restrain the licentiousness of sinners, and would be of the same use still; humility, which is the mother of virtue, being commonly the effect of this delay of reconciliation. Lastly, the Church of Rome herself acknowledges that there be some sins, as theft and calumny, which cannot be pardoned without restitution. In the mean time, what reception hath the Romish Church given to the advice of Mr. Arnaud and his friends ? As they endeavoured to give a check to the article of frequent communion used in that Church, though it be another abuse they were willing to amend ; they have been abused by them, therefore, in the most terrible manner. The Church of Rome hath always persevered in this overturning ; before a man has performed his penance, they absolve him ; by which means he is permitted immediately to approach to the altar ; and it is but too well known, what becomes afterwards of the

satisfaction he was to make ; and I am sure that most of the following confessions contain always an article about the omission of some formerly imposed penance : and yet all this hath not been able to persuade the Romish Church to restore those ancient rules and customs. Thus she proclaims to all the world the profound respect she hath for antiquity.

The sixth Reflection.

I must necessarily add something here concerning those works which the ancient Church did impose on penitents; where we may observe, that the Romish Church has wholly altered the notion of those works, as I have shewed before. We might add to this many other abuses. 1. That she impositioneth prayers in an unknown tongue, and consequently doth not require the understanding of them. That she requires very little or no attention at all in repeating them. And above all, in the third place, that she has changed the very nature of those works, by prescribing them as satisfactions to the Divine justice, and as meritorious works in themselves, which is the most foolish and false notion that can be put upon them. Now certain it is, that the Protestants have wholly put away this leaven, which has corrupted the practice and belief of the Church of Rome. Fasting is prescribed in their communion as a help to meditation, and to mortify the flesh ; alms are ordered by the same, as a token of our love to God, and compassion with the misery of our neighbour ; ardent and reiterated prayers are prescribed to those who have suffered themselves to be carried away by their passions. And though they do not fix the number and quantity of these duties, as they of the Romish Church do of their prayers and fasts, yet every one is sensible, that this method, which serves to humble the conscience, in making it sensible of its sin, if joined with any attention, is much more proper to recall a sinner to his duty, than the reciting a certain number of prayers, without either understanding or attention, or to exercise one's self in a seeming fast on certain days, and according to the judicial order of a confessor, which we may reject, with a reserve to undergo the said penance in the flames of purgatory.

The seventh Reflection.

The-seventh Reflection concerns indulgences, a means much practised of late ages, the abuse of which gave an occasion to the Reformation. We are not only to observe here the

novelty of this institution, Gregory VII. being the first author of it. And it is well known, that when some Schoolmen, little versed in history, pretended they had found examples of it, in the time of Gregory I. and in some bishops who lived before the eleventh century, they have been reproached for their ignorance by Father Morinus, *de Pœnit.* lib. 10. c. 20: his proofs are so solid on this point that the nuncio Joseph Maria de Seto Felice, the famous Jesuit Henschenius, and the learned Father Le Cointe,* have made use of them as a foundation to refute the acts of the canonization of St. Swibert, as being manifestly feigned, because therein mention is made of indulgences, which, say they, were never heard of till about the time of Urban II. successor of Gregory VII. Neither need we to insist on this, that this practice is unknown to all Christians separate from the Roman communion; which yet is a very considerable thing, that the whole Greek Church should be absolutely ignorant of this short way of satisfying by penance. Why did not the Greek bishops make use of the said compendium as well as the Latins? Why hath not the patriarch of Constantinople, who hath always pretended to the same right as the bishop of Rome, taken to himself the same power that the bishop of Rome arrogates in this matter over all the bishops of the west? We are to take notice of two things here, which invincibly prove how much this overthrow of penance hath scandalized the Christians of the west, that have given the least heed to it. The first is, that the bishops of the west, persuading themselves that they had right to imitate the conduct of their popes Gregory VII. and Urban II. by granting indulgences to facilitate the building of stately churches, many of which have been since built with great ease; Peter le Chantre, one of the most famous men of the thirteenth century, declares in high terms, how much he disapproved this relaxation, the necessary consequence whereof he foresaw, could be no other than the total overthrow of discipline. The bishop of Paris, who had no means, having undertaken to build that superstructure of the cathedral of Paris, without having any other fund to carry it on, than by dispensing with the canonical penances of those who were willing to contribute towards it, and so buy off their penances; Peter le Chantre in high terms taxed this novelty: the expressions he makes use of are very remarkable, and

* Le Cointe Annal. Fr. ad Annum 805. sect. 7.

alleged by Father Morinus *de Pœnit.* lib. 10. cap. 20. We may easily judge that a man as he was, would not touch this sore of his own Church, but with a great deal of tenderness, though he could not forbear speaking his mind. We may see the opinion of William of Auxerre, bishop of Paris, lib. 4. summae, cap. 6. tr. 9, where he saith on this matter, *Dicimus quod in veritate multa promittunt Prælati, quæ non solvuntur;* that is to say in plain terms, he looked upon them as pious cheats; which affords us a very plain instance of the judgment of one of the greatest men of that time, concerning indulgences. The second thing which merits some consideration is, that the treasure of indulgences, the defence of which Thomas Aquinas hath undertaken, did consist in two things, whereof the one is the superabundance of the satisfactions of Jesus Christ; and the other, that of the saints, who had suffered more than was due to Divine justice. This last doctrine hath been vigorously attacked by Durand of St. Porcian, bishop of Meaux, who had been Penitentiary of the Pope, and who taught at Paris with general approbation; as we may see in his work on the *Sentences*, lib. 4. q. 20. art. 3, where he confutes all Thomas Aquinas's arguments, which makes it evident that this doctrine was only supported by the credulity of the common people, the Pope's immense authority, the general relaxation of penance, and by the great corruption that bore sway then. We find the same care to refute this doctrine in another famous Schoolman, *viz.* Franciscus Mayronis, in 4. dist. 19. q. 2. both which divines have attacked the treasure of indulgences, and wholly overthrown the foundations thereof. We may also take notice, that the Divine providence being desirous to procure the salvation of sinners, so ordered it, that the first article attacked by Luther, was that of indulgences, that is to say, one of those whereof the novelty was most modern, the corruptions most palpable, the danger most pressing, and which might most easily be discovered, though it pretended to a head of gold, *viz.* Apostolical authority, to be indeed nothing else but a mixture of clay and iron; as retaining nothing but a seeming hardness and severity to serve some temporal interest, by granting the remission of sin for money, which is the most vile and shameful thing in the world.

The eighth Reflection.

The eighth reflection we are to make on this subject, respects purgatory, which hath always been the grand foundation of

indulgences, and their main support. It might be made out, that this belief is a fruit of Origenism. In effect, that which St. John of Damascus reports of Gregory I. (who was one of them that most encouraged this opinion), that the damned themselves received advantages by prayers for the dead, as may be seen by the fable he relates concerning the relief of the soul of Trajan the emperor, by means of prayer ; has, for a long time, passed for current money amongst the Greek Fathers. But it shall suffice me to allege two strange proofs of the ridiculous impression these panic fears made on the spirits of men ; the one is, that they had not the same notion of it, which the Roman Church hath at this day ; this appears from the legend of St. Brendan, who relates the punishments of certain souls who made satisfaction for the remainder of their penances in the bodies of some birds, with which the good Scotch abbot entertained himself ; which thing appeared so palpably to Cardinal de Vitry, that he could not but make this reflection thereon, lib. 1. cap. 90. That which is observable in this relation, is, that he brings it in upon a recital he makes of certain birds that spoke to Alexander the Great, whilst he was in the Indies ; the words he makes use of are these, *Utrum verum sit aut possibile, prudenti Lectori judicandum relinquimus.* The other is, that the pious cheats and frauds of confessors, have been the main cause of the common persuasion concerning purgatory : we might establish this truth by a thousand relations, whereof one only shall suffice to mention at present, and that is of St. Patrick's purgatory ; of which Cardinal Vitry speaks thus :* *In Hibernia locus quidam habetur, qui purgatorium Sancti Patricii nuncupatur : si quis illuc ingressus fuerit, nisi vere poenitens et contritus fuerit, statim a dæmonibus raptus aut necatus, nunquam postea revertitur : qui autem vere contritus et confessus ingreditur, per ignem et aquam, et per mille genera tormentorum a dæmonibus correptus ibidem purgatur : qui autem amplius deliquit, acerbius in eodem loco punitur. Qui autem a prædicto loco purgatus regreditur, nunquam deinceps ridere potest vel ludere, vel aliqua quæ in mundo sunt diligere, sed semper lugens et gemens, posteriorum oblitus, in anteriora se extendit.* Very unhappily for the Roman Church, the Reformation has given occasion to examine this mystery, and what discovery hath been thereupon made, is very well known : as also how many like fables have

* Lib. 1. cap. 92.

been made use of, in some former ages, to abuse the poor people in matters of religion.

I think this is sufficient to make appear, that the Church of Rome, in her whole conduct, hath not forgot to make use of any means to support the right she arrogates to herself, of overthrowing, upon divers made pretences, whatsoever the ancient Church had most wisely established, to make sin odious ; to inspire men with an eternal horror for it, and to retain sinners in a just fear of the judgments of God.

BOOK III.

THE POPISH METHODS FOR THE PARDON OF SIN,
GROUNDELSS; UPON THE HEAD OF SATISFACTIONS.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED,
WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF
OF THEIR

DOCTRINE OF SATISFACTIONS.

PART I.

THE Church of Rome having advanced a certain doctrine of Satisfactions, which they maintain to be founded upon several places of holy Scriptures, the design of some following pages is, to observe the meaning of those places; and whether they be a sufficient foundation of such a doctrine. But for the better advantage of this design, that I may perform it with more perspicuity, I shall discourse of these Satisfactions in some latitude, and explain some things that are previous, and in order to a right stating of those Scriptures which are brought for the proof of them,

I. I shall give an account of this doctrine of Satisfactions, as it is asserted in the Roman Church.

II. I shall observe the grounds and arguments it is founded upon.

III. That these being removed, or there being no Satisfactions for such purposes, as they maintain them, I shall observe the reasons of afflictions, and voluntary chastisements or penances, which are the matter of Satisfactions in the Church.

IV. And so come in the fourth place, to explain those texts of Scripture which they produce for this doctrine.

V. And, lastly, shew the original of it, when it began, and was established in the Church.

I. To give an account of this doctrine of Satisfactions, which is this, that God, upon the exercise of a true repentance, through the mercy of his own nature, and the satisfaction of Christ's sufferings, remits the guilt and eternal punishment of sin; but leaves a debt of some temporal pains to be undergone by us, which we are to expiate, and satisfy for, either in the afflictions of human life (as they are the dispensations of Divine Providence), or in some undue performances, and voluntary penances of our own; which if we do not, they still remain upon us as a necessary suffering in the other state. And by these afflictions, or in these penances, they affirm, that we can truly satisfy for the temporal penalties of our sins, which are still retained, or required from us after the remission of their eternal punishment.

Now all this is to be understood in respect of such sins, as are committed after baptism; for those that are antecedent to that, are wholly cancelled thereby in that fuller application of Christ's sufferings; and those persons that immediately die, after the benefit of that sacrament, as they are capable of no punishment in this life, so they are secure from the purgatory of another, in the notion of these authors. As if remission of sins, and the application of Christ's sufferings, did not belong to a true repentance, without which, even baptism itself of adult persons would signify nothing; (Acts ii. 38. and iii. 19.)

This is the sum of the Roman doctrine in this particular: the professors of that Church very nicely distinguish the punishment of sin into temporal and eternal; the latter of which they affirm to be remitted to all true penitents through the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice; but the former to be paid and satisfied for in their own persons.

This doctrine hath a general consent to it, although they differ in some certain notions and definitions about it; some maintaining that the guilt of sin, or the offence of the Divine Majesty, is atoned through contrition alone, or in the benefit of absolution added thereto, and that the eternal punishment, in the virtue of the keys, is changed into a temporal, which works of satisfaction are necessary to the discharge and removal of.

Others think, that both the guilt and eternal punishment are remitted through contrition, but that an obligation still remains to some temporal punishment in the order of the Divine mercy, which the Gospel-ministers, in the authority of

their priestly office, can remit one part of, and enjoin some penances as a satisfaction for the other.

Now some distinguish in sin, between the offence thereof, or aversion from God ; and inordinate appetite, or conversion to the creature : and for the first they say, being infinite, as it respects, or is an affront of an infinite majesty, none can satisfy but the man Christ Jesus ; and therefore this is only forgiven through the faith of him, and his performance on our behalf ; but for the other, which is only a finite thing, every person may satisfy in his own action, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which enables him thereto.

And as to the efficacy of these satisfactions, some modestly affirm that they only apply the infinite satisfaction of Christ to us, and are effectual as they are joined through faith to his passion. Others maintain that they have no value from Christ's passion, which they would not have in their own nature, though the influence they are performed by, were obtained in another means, or conveyance to us.

However, it is their general doctrine, that they are equivalent in themselves to the temporal penalties due to sin, and obtain in a commutative manner, the remission of them, as they are acted from the graces of the Holy Spirit ; which being an infinite principle in our souls, makes the performances that derive from them, fully answerable to the demerit of sin, and a proper satisfaction on our part for it.

Now it is observable, that the Council of Trent, which is now the canon of the Roman Church, determines nothing among these niceties of school-authors, but only affirms in a general manner, that a temporal punishment is still due to sin, after its guilt, and eternal punishment is cancelled in respect to Christ's merits, which must be undergone either in the chastisements of this life, as they are inflicted by Divine Providence, or some undue works, and voluntary penances upon ourselves ; or else it remains upon us as a necessary debt in another world, which we must pay to Divine justice, before we can enter into the blessedness of that state ; but that by a patient sufferance of outward afflictions, or works of penance upon ourselves, we can fully satisfy the justice of God through the merits of our Saviour, and redeem that temporal penalty, or obtain a complete remission of the whole punishment and guilt of sin. And therefore these satisfactions, as they are defined by afflictions, or works of penance ; so they are called compensations of the Divine offence, and accounted

not only as proper remedies of ill habits,* or preservatives against fresh miscarriages afterwards ; but punishments of past sins, in order to the forgiveness and pardon of them. And that by this means, in the help of Divine grace, we can purchase that pardon, or fully satisfy by way of equivalence, for the temporal penalties of our sins. And not only so,† but that we may perform more than is necessary upon that account, or found an overplus of satisfactions, which through the communion, or intimate relation of Christian people, they all being members of one spiritual head, may be applied to the advantage of others ; upon which account the saints may be called our Redeemers, as they deliver us from the debt of temporal punishment, by the payment of it themselves, according to Bellarmine, lib. 1. cap. 48. *de Indulg.*

Now this doctrine does suppose many things :

1. That sin is not wholly pardoned altogether as to both guilt and punishment ; but some part of the penalty due thereto still remains, after the pardon or remission of it.

2. That we can add to our Christian duty, and arrive at a state of virtue above the precept, or perform undue works, and more than is requisite, upon the account of our former sins. And,

3. That these performances, or undue works, can satisfy the Divine justice for the remains of temporal punishment, due to sin after its pardon and forgiveness, through the efficacy of Christ's sufferings : nay, that they can satisfy in such an abundant manner, as may be communicated to the benefit of other people.

1. Now as to the first of these, that certain temporal pains, or punishments, are still left as a just penance after the remission of sin, as to its guilt and eternal punishment.

This is, first, contrary to the Gospel covenant in the sacrifice of our Saviour, Heb. viii. 12 : "I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more ;" that is, upon the term of a true repentance, and in the special means of applying Christ's benefits, the laver of baptism, and regeneration, their sins will I remit, as so many cancelled and discharged debts, and deal with them as if they had persisted perfectly innocent, or never been guilty of sin at all ; according to the doctrine of St. Peter to the

* Concil. Trid. p. 124. Bell. de Indulg. 1. 2. c. 6. p. 660. [vol. 3, p. 684. Prag. 1721.] Exam. p. 2. p. 206. † Bell. *ibid.* cap. 1. [p. 676.]

obstinate Jews, Acts ii. 38 : “Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.”

And we may be convinced of the latitude of our pardon from God by those Scriptures, where our sins are compared to debts, upon which account we are said to be debtors, and the remission of them is denoted by the remission of a debt, as Matth. xviii. 23, 24. In the parable of a king that would reckon with his servants, where, upon the humble entreaty of one of them, it is said, that his Lord “was moved with compassion, and forgave him the debt.” And Matth. vi. 12, that petition in our Lord’s prayer is thus expressed, “Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.” Now as we cannot imagine that he answers this precept, or the qualification of forgiveness at God’s hands, who remits a part of his brother’s trespasses, and revenges or challenges a recompense for the rest, but that a plenary remission is enjoined hereby, that we receive our offending brethren into all the beneficence or kind effects of Christian charity; so neither can we interpret the Divine mercy concerning a part of our offences, when God declares in an indefinite manner, that he will forgive us our debts, or that he does forgive them in regard to Christ’s sufferings, according to the Apostle, Eph. iv. 32, where he also sets forth our Christian duty by way of simile, “Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ’s sake hath forgiven you.” Now as forgiveness denotes the removing of the punishment, so that cannot support the Roman doctrine, which they commonly say, that God forgives the greatest part of the punishment of sin, in regard to what he requires of us, according to the relation of eternal and temporal pains to one another, seeing there is no mention of this in the revelation of God’s word, which is the only measure of our knowledge concerning the mercy and free emanations of the Divine Nature; and seeing this derogates from the performance of our Saviour, and leaves but one part of our redemption to him, whose purchase it wholly is, and whom it does entirely belong to; (of which, more afterwards.)

Nor is this reconcileable to the ordinary acceptation, and custom of speech among men, to remit any thing and yet demand the solution of one half of it; as it is inconsistent with the use of those words which the Scriptures express this thing by, which signify freely to pardon without any thing of

equivalent, or compensation thereto, ($\chi\alpha\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$) and to put away or remove from one ($\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$), or when it passes into a third person; *liberare debitorem per acceptilationem, et dicere, acceptum fero*; to set free a debtor by an acquittance, wherein the creditor does declare that he is satisfied as much as if he had received the full payment. This is the acceptation of the word among profane authors, and may be best explained as to its importance among the penmen of the holy Scriptures, by St. John, where he joins this with the opposite word ($\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$) to hold or retain, chap. xx. 23: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained;" that is, those persons whom ye the Apostles rightly receive into the communion of the Church, upon the profession of a true faith, and repentance of their past sins, they shall partake of all the advantages and privileges thereof, remission of sins, a more plentiful influence of God's Spirit, and eternal happiness afterwards; and those persons whom ye exclude from that communion, as truly wanting a Christian habit in their minds, shall still remain under the consequence of their sins, both in this and the other world.

And those other places of holy Scripture, which declare the pardon of sin to be a gratuitous and free thing, cannot be accommodated to this doctrine, as Rom. iii. 24: "We are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." And Eph. i. 7: "We have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace;" that is, our sins are freely pardoned in the benignity of the Divine Nature, through the ransom of our blessed Saviour; but how can that be gratuitous and free, or what relation has it to the benignity of the Divine Nature, when we suffer half of the punishment due to sin, and as it were, purchase it by that means?

And those expressions among the prophets, of "God's blotting out transgressions as a thick cloud," whosoever any one truly repents of them, Isa. xlivi. 25, and xliv. 22; "his subduing our iniquities, and casting our sins into the depths of the sea," Micah vii. 19. Psal. ciii. 12; his promising life to the penitent sinner, whatsoever his miscarriages have been before: these cannot consist with an obligation still left to some penalties for past sins, but must needs import a full exemption from all sufferings, by way of punishment, upon that account, as well temporal, as eternal, either of which are not reconcileable to such expressions, nor would it be a blotting

out transgressions, where some of the punishment is still retained.

And more expressly, as a refutation of this doctrine, Rom. viii. 1, “There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus ; who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit ;” that is, those who endeavour in an honest compliance with Divine grace, to subdue their carnal affections, and follow the dictates of their spirits, and the more certain suggestions of the Spirit of God, as those are displayed upon that principle, and intermingled or blended with it ; such persons, although they be guilty of many miscarriages, as the necessary results of human infirmity, yet in the efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice they shall be fully acquitted and discharged therefrom, so as no condemnation shall ensue, nor any punishment temporal or eternal. This is the notion of the words, that through the means of Christ’s sufferings, we are rescued from the penalties of our sins, and this benefit is only applied to those persons that pursue a Gospel life, and are only chargeable with the lapses of human nature, or truly repent of deliberate sins. And those following words have the same importance, ver. 34 : “Who is he that condemneth ? it is Christ that died, or rather that is risen again ;” that is, it is an unreasonable thing to condemn or adjudge to any punishment the pious professors of Christ’s name, seeing he has suffered upon their account, and paid the price of their redemption.

And it is a more plain affirmation of our impunity, as also of the means by which it was purchased and acquired for us, that of the Apostle in two parallel places, Gal. iii. 13: “Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us :” and “God hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him ;” that is, the death and sufferings of the man Christ Jesus, being so righteous, as he was to the utmost rigour of the law, were upon our account, to redeem us thereby from the just demerits and stipend of our sins, that he being treated as a sinful man, we should be considered upon the exercise of a true repentance, notwithstanding the many failures we are guilty of, as righteous persons, and wholly acquitted from the penalties due to them. For if there should be any remainder of so much as a temporal punishment unremoved by this mediation of our Saviour, it could not be said in an indefinite manner, that he hath “redeemed us from the curse,” or that “we were made the righteousness of God in him.”

And pursuant to this purpose is that other place of the

Apostle, Rom. v. 1 : "Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ ;" that is, being arrived at the due improvement of a Christian faith, such as belongs to the farther discoveries or revelation of the Gospel, which will carry us to a higher advancement of holiness of life, as we are possessed of a higher degree and proportion of it ; we being arrived at this Christian faith, the most powerful inducement of a virtuous conversation, shall be rescued from the penalty of our past sins, or have peace with God, through the atonement of his Son, and be no longer in a state of displeasure or enmity with him.

All these places plainly manifest, that when we have arrived at the qualifications of forgiveness, according to the tenor of the Gospel covenant, we are fully exempt from all sufferings upon the score of former sins, and have no remains of any sort of punishment to be undergone by us, the whole guilt and the whole punishment being both remitted and relaxed together.

And, moreover, as it would argue insincerity and unfaithfulness in God, to deal with us so expressly contrary to his own declarations in his holy word, so it would likewise be a plain repugnancy to his justice. He has been graciously pleased to confirm and ratify a new covenant with mankind in his Son, in which he has promised upon certain terms of faith and repentance, to constitute him a sacrifice for us, and transfer the punishment of our past sins to him, or indemnify us through his sufferings : of which we find an express account in many places of holy Scripture. Thus in that particular prophecy to this purpose, Isa. liii. 4, 5, 6, "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows ; he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities ; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed," &c. "The Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all :" and ver. 12, "He was numbered with the transgressors, and he bare the sin of many," &c. part of which is cited by St. Peter, 1 Epist. ii. 24 : "His own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, might live unto righteousness, by whose stripes we are healed." And so the Apostle to the Hebrews, chap. ix. 28, "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." And, "Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust," 1 Peter iii. 18. And he is described by the Baptist, "The Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world," John i. 29. And in those places mentioned before, "He was made a curse for us, and he

was made sin for us ;" that is, according to the ideotism of the Hebrew language, he was a sacrifice for our sins. Now then our ransom being paid in Christ, or he having suffered the full demerit of our sins in our room, as having no foundation of sufferings in his own person, we are fully acquitted from that debt, if we only perform those terms, which in the dispensation of the Divine wisdom apply those sufferings to our account, or transfer the benefit thereof to us ; and it would be an instance of injustice to require a satisfaction of penitent sinners, for their past misdemeanors, as it would be for a creditor to demand that debt from any person, which his surety had discharged before, either in kind, or in something else of a higher value.

And then this depreciates the infinite payment and satisfaction of Christ, if there be still some temporal pains left to us upon the score of former sins, which we must sustain in our own persons after a true repentance of them ; then Christ did redeem us but in part, and did not wholly satisfy for us ; which must either be chargeable on the Divine purpose, and so would be a plain collusion in the God of truth, or on the inefficacy of Christ's sufferings, as if they were insufficient to compensate the Divine justice, or to purchase our impunity ; and some satisfactions of our own were to be joined with them, to render them adequate upon that account.

But then they say that Christ immediately satisfied for the eternal punishment and guilt of sin, and mediately for temporal pains likewise, inasmuch as he obtained such an influence of Divine grace, by which we may satisfy our own selves.

Which doctrine, as a fuller evidence of the absurdity of it, ascribes this satisfaction to the person of the Father as his act, who was the object thereof, or whom it was offered as an atonement to, inasmuch as he being the root of the Divine nature, did communicate, by an eternal emanation, those powers to Christ, which enabled him to satisfy for us. But if it must be ascribed to Christ, who performed that bitter instance, or as himself speaks in the prophet, "who trod the wine-press alone" of the wrath of God, Isaiah lxiii. 3, then it is a dangerous thing thus to diminish the inestimable value of his sufferings, and deprive him of the merit of one-half of them, by sacrilegious reference to ourselves ; which would induce one to believe no satisfaction at all, and so detain one under the horror of his sins, or prevent the happy confi-

dence of remission of them, and the saving graces of God's Spirit, to enable him against them for the time to come.

And it is also bold and venturesome to assert such a doctrine as has no support in holy Scripture, there being no where any mention there of this half-satisfaction, or that Christ satisfied for the whole guilt of our sins, but not the whole punishment of them ; but that he universally suffered for sin, and entirely dissolved the obligation thereof. The Apostle says, Col. ii. 14, that he blotted "out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross." But if a company of temporal punishments still remain to be satisfied for, in our own persons, which were not expiated in Christ's sufferings, then the handwriting is still unremoved, and in force against us.

But moreover there are several absurdities in this doctrine, upon their own principles ; first, that venial sins, as they style some, only having a temporal punishment belonging to them, which must always be suffered and satisfied for in our own persons, are not included in Christ's sacrifice, and such persons as are only guilty of those, have no benefit therefrom as to the pardon obtained by it : which is a direct repugnancy to the Apostle, 1 John i. 7, "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, the blood of Jesus Christ cleaneth us from all sin ;" that is, every sin is acquitted and pardoned to us through him, upon a due disposal and qualification in ourselves.

And they maintain, that sin is wholly remitted and pardoned in baptism, both as to the guilt and punishment of it : which is a flat contradiction to their other assertion, that we must satisfy ourselves for some part of the punishment of sin, notwithstanding the infinite payment and satisfaction of Christ ; for the efficacy of baptism does wholly derive from Christ's satisfaction, and we partake of nothing in that sacrament, but what is the purchase and influence thereof ; and therefore seeing the temporal pains of those sins, that were acted before, are remitted in baptism, it plainly follows even upon their principles, that Christ's satisfaction is applicable to the whole penalty of sin, and no portion thereof is left undischarged by it. But it is the fate of an erroneous doctrine, that one always falls into contradiction in the defence thereof ; which truth alone, from the uniformity it carries to all the parts and branches of it, can secure us from.

And whereas they affirm, that Christ satisfied for the eternal

punishment of sin, and that mortal sins have only such belonging to them ; this would make the circumstance of such persons, who have been guilty of these, after repentance, and the application of Christ's sufferings in the sacrament, much better than what is the portion of less offenders ; which is confutation enough only to mention.

But then sometimes they say to salve this (with what consistency, let themselves consider), that although God requires a certain punishment, either here, or in purgatory, from the truest converts, yet he exchanges an immense debt for a little sum, and only inflicts some temporary sufferings for eternal misery. This indeed, if he should do of his own benignity, as it was to accept of a Surety and Mediator for us at the first, without any payment or solution made, would have been an instance of great grace ; but seeing he has accepted of a Surety, and the whole account is cancelled in him, he cannot rightfully challenge any share or portion of it over again ; and the smallness of the challenge does not at all help the matter, seeing it is the same injustice, although less injury, to demand a parcel only, where all was discharged and paid before, as to insist on the whole sum.

And if this be so contrary to the justice of God, it is much more so to the benignity and immense goodness of his nature. For seeing the Scriptures every where teach us (as they also confess themselves) that God, through the performance of our blessed Saviour, is no more an angry Judge, but a compassionate and loving Father, and that his love does far exceed the strongest affection in human nature of parents to their children, this being abundantly with more concern in him, although devoid of fondness and passion, it cannot be imagined how that unusual severity should consist with that strength of affection ; that he who has remitted eternal death to us most deserving of it, should yet require those penalties from us which are inconsistent with the notion of remission of sins, or which, if the offence be forgiven through the merit of Christ's sacrifice, we are no ways under the obligation of.

Thus the doctrine of some remains of temporal punishments after the pardon of sin, as to its guilt and eternal consequence, is expressly contrary to abundance of places of holy Scripture, which being a matter of God's free bounty, is only to be known and observed therefrom.

It is also repugnant to the Divine justice, to demand a debt twice over, that in our own act and performance, which was

already satisfied for, by the great oblation of Christ Jesus for the sins of the whole world.

It also depreciates the infinite value of this oblation, when it is not allowed to extend to the whole demerit of our sins, but we must atone for one part of it in our own persons.

It is likewise inconsistent with the fatherly affections and kindness of God through Christ Jesus, to punish those whom he has admitted to reconciliation and friendship in regard to his sufferings. From all which it plainly follows, that there is no reserve of temporal punishment left to sin, after the pardon and forgiveness of it through the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, and the qualification of a true repentance on our part ; which was the first ground of the doctrine of satisfactions.

The second is, that we can supererogate with God ; that is, that we can arrive at a state of virtue above the precept and obligation of our Christian duty, or perform undue works, and suffer more than the demerit of our former sins. Which we shall find quite impossible, both in respect of action and sufferings.

As to the former, the entire use of all our faculties belongs to him from whom we received them, or who made and framed us in these admirable advantages of reasonable creatures ; there is nothing that we can perform or do, that can exceed such great obligations on our side ; the utmost effort of our reasonable powers in his service, and to his glory, is no more than a just gratitude, or equitable discharge of ourselves to him ; nor is this above our Christian rule, or the express definition of our Christian duty ; Mark xii. 30, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." Which love of God, as it contains all Christian virtues as to its latitude (John xiv. 15. and xxi. 23. 1 John ii. 5. and v. 3.), so being expressed in such a manner, does declare the highest degree and advancement thereof. And 1 Pet. i. 15, "Be ye holy in all manner of conversation, as he who hath called you is holy."

From which two places we may infer, that those who are commanded to exert themselves upon God in such a manner, in the utmost stress of all their faculties, understanding, will, and rational affection, and are also enjoined to approach the great Exemplar of all holiness ; as near as they can, in a careful imitation and conformity thereto, they are obliged by way of precept to the highest perfection and degree of virtue, according to the capacity of human nature. Indeed the ad-

vancement of our virtues is not just the same hieght to all people, but must be supposed of a great latitude, in regard to the several tempers of mankind ; which being in such a difference as they are, make it impossible that all should attain to the same perfection, as to the matter of their virtues, or conquest of themselves. Though they may advance as far upon their temper, having a greater strength of animal affections to combat withal, yet they do not all stand in the same elevation or degree of holy habit with one another.

And this difference in ourselves of the force of the animal affections in different persons, will explain those texts of Scripture which the Romanists bring for the proof of undue works, and refute such a doctrine, as Matth. xix. 10, 11, 12 ; the plain interpretation of which is, that those persons in whom the incitements of flesh and blood are less prevalent, so that they may the more easily obtain a conquest of them in a due guard of themselves, and the proper means of reducing their bodies into a manageable habit, constant temperance, frequent fasting, and the use of intense prayer to supply the defects of our own strength, by a more liberal influence of Divine grace ; those that can obtain this in the better advantages of temper or grace, that they may have to this purpose, upon which account they will be more delivered from the entanglements of this world, and in a better freedom for the exercises of religion ; as St. Paul acquaints us, 1 Cor. vii. they seem to have a precept to this freer state of holy celibacy, ver. 12, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it," and not only counsel or advice thereto.

And that other place, which they explain of a voluntary poverty, concerning the young man, Matth. xix. 21, "Go, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor," has this lesson and meaning in it, that we should be constantly affected to relinquish our whole estates, whensoever they hinder us in any instance of a Christian virtue, that we cannot express because of them a due obedience to any doctrine of our Saviour : when we observe too great an adherence to these things, that our affections are too deeply engaged in them, and our dependence settled upon them, so that they exclude a due faith and trust in God, or our necessary compliance with some discoveries of his will to us. This is of the same importance with that other place, to take up our cross, and follow Christ, and is a precept still to all Christians in the sufferings of the Church, or in times of persecution for the truth's sake, that we renounce our

temporal enjoyments when they stand in competition with that, and we cannot jointly preserve both.

Indeed, as to the instance of Christian charity, we ought to give liberally in a constant reliance on God's providence, and the reward of eternal glory at the last, according to our Saviour, Luke vi. 38, "Give, and it shall be given you," &c. But we ought to observe a certain proportion, according to the store we are blessed withal, so as to reserve a due competency for ourselves, such as may answer the conveniences of life, without any provision for the luxuries of it; as the Apostle advises, that others be not eased, and we burdened, 2 Cor. viii. 13.

This is the doctrine of that place, that we ought to relinquish all, either in case of an express command to this thing, or by way of consequence, when there is such an incompetency between the holding of our estates, and the profession of any Gospel truth, that we cannot retain or enjoy both of them. So that it is a precept still in its true relation, as it denotes a transcendent love and affection to Christ above all things else, and not a state of voluntary poverty, which may often prevent us of an act of beneficence, when we thus divest ourselves of the capacity of it. And although the Romanists frequently boast of their many examples of a voluntary poverty, yet they always, in so much wisdom, part with their possessions, as to procure a certain subsistence in some way or other,* and not be cast upon the unseen supplies of Divine Providence by that means; and they also ascribe such a merit to them, and make such challenges thereupon from Divine justice, that they are rather instances of spiritual pride than true humility, and so cannot be thought to have such a perfection or reward in them. And then if we consider the definition of our duty in a further latitude, the precepts of God are in such a degree, and prescribe such an absolute perfection of our behaviour, that in this present composure of flesh and blood, we can never attain or reach to it. To love our enemies, so as to have no intention of revenge to them, or be hindered in any instances of beneficence towards them, when it happens in our way: and to love our neighbours as ourselves, to be indifferently affected to the possessions of this world, so that we can be contented with our own portion and measure of them, whatever it be; or part with them all in the

* By entering some monastery, or the like.

defence of a righteous cause ; not to entertain a motion of concupiscence in our hearts, or the fancy of any other thing, which being performed, and brought into action, would be a sin : these are such heights and advancements of virtue, as we can never ascend to, much less exceed and lay a merit of supererogations, or undue performances thereupon.

And as to the second thing, that we can suffer more, either in the chastisements of Divine Providence which we patiently submit to ; or in voluntary inflictions upon ourselves, than the demerit of our sins, so as to be a satisfaction for them, or a treasure for those of other people, will appear very absurd, when we consider the abominable nature and desert of sin, the infinite majesty, and the infinite goodness, and the infinite assistance of Divine grace, which in the highest instance of ingratitude, it is committed and acted against. And that there is no equivalency in the sufferings of this life, to the reward of heaven, so as to purchase it, either for ourselves, or other people, the Apostle gives us his opinion, Rom. viii. 18 : "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us."

Thus having proved that we are not capable of undue performances, or instances of virtue above the rules of our Christian duty, nor that we can suffer in an aggravated manner above the debt of our sins, which quite removes the ground of satisfactions, both for ourselves, and other people : I might stop here as to any further pursuit of this matter ; yet, because they expressly affirm, that justified persons can satisfy for the temporal pains left to sin after remission of eternal punishment, I shall a little further consider this doctrine.* In confutation of which, we may observe, that such is the nature and offence of sin, and its bold affront to the Divine Majesty, that God, in the effect of his infinite mercy, would not remit it without an instance of his just displeasure and indignation upon it, the more to imprint, by this means, a due notion of his own purity upon the minds of men, and the repugnancy of sin to him, which would have been more lost in them, by an act of pure impunity. And then an offence of the Divine Majesty being to be compensated and satisfied for, there could no equivalent be found but His sufferings, or the free oblation of Himself, who was God and man in one person, or in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily ; and so having both

* Bell. de Poenit. lib. 4. c. 7. [vol. 3. p. 623, &c. Prag. 1721.]

the subject of human nature to suffer in, and the Divinity joined thereto in a wonderful manner, to enhance the value of those sufferings, he was only a proper atonement upon that account, and did fully expiate the whole offence and punishment of sin. In the sacrifice of himself, which had so much obedience and resignation in it, to answer the rebellion of our sins, and such an high estimation from the dignity of his person, he purchased the privilege of repentance to us, and whensoever we truly perform that, a full remission of our past sins, according to his own express declaration, Luke xxiv. 47, which is also the dictate of the Holy Spirit, Ephes. i. 7, "In him we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins." And "he is the propitiation for our sins," 1 John ii. 2. And "he has given himself a ransom for all," 1 Tim. ii. 6. And "he has redeemed us from the curse of the law," Gal. i. 13. And "by the obedience of one, many are made righteous," Rom. v. 19. The true importance of all which place is plainly this, that we are wholly rescued from all the guilt and penalties of sin in the sufferings of our Saviour; those are our ransom and the price of our redemption, and there is no remains of any punishment to past sins, after a sincere repentance of them, and the application of Christ's sufferings thereto, through faith.

And that this great atonement was absolutely necessary, in respect to the whole punishment of sin, both temporal and eternal, which has no such nice distribution of it in Scripture; and that we cannot satisfy the Divine justice, upon either account, by any behaviour, or action of ours, is very demonstrable from the inabilities of lapsed nature, that we can perform no good thing in our own strength, or the abstracted principle of our own natures, without an influence of Divine grace (which Bellarmine sometimes affirms to be necessary in satisfaction, *ibid.* p. 1104), neither if we could entirely comply with the infinite principle of Divine grace, as it inspires good thoughts into us, and as it assists us in the exerting of them, would our actions be of a sufficient value to satisfy the offence of an infinite Majesty, or offer a due compensation thereto; seeing they are not considerable abstractedly, as the operations of the Holy Spirit (as one cannot say that that abstains, gives alms, or the like), but as they proceed from human liberty, and are the effects of our own wills, which we produce in that assistance; but then considering that we are often wanting to this heavenly influence in our minds, and too much yield to

our carnal affections, not endeavouring in a due intention of our faculties against them, and so through remissness in ourselves, and disappointment of Divine help by that means, fall into many instances of sin ; as also, that our best actions have many imperfections and defects in them, either wanting a due direction to God's glory, which is requisite to every instance and action of virtue, or some other essential thing thereto, we are more unlikely to compensate the Divine justice, for a share of the penalties of past sins, by any performances of ours, which are only less degrees of sin themselves.

And therefore the sufferings or afflictions that we are at any time engaged in, seeing they cannot be a due satisfaction upon this account, must be supposed to have another intention and design in them, and that God does not send them for a compensation of his justice, or revenge upon sin, as to a certain remain of punishment still left undischarged in the sufferings of our Saviour, but that they are sent for other purposes.

And first, they are sent in a great instance of the Divine love, to cure the sinful inclinations in us ; that the rebellious principle of flesh and blood may be more subdued by this means, and the cause and nutriment of our sins in a great abatement, when our spirits are brought down by some temporal hardship. We shall then be more recovered to all the benefits of consideration, which a prosperous circumstance often hinders, and so be more left in the free exercise of our reasonable faculties, to determine ourselves in the result of them, as creatures of our quality ought to do. And there being this pressure upon the animal nature, it will be less apt to sally forth into its usual habits of pride, intemperance, or the like ; and so we shall have more moderate temptations to engage withal. Afflictions, when they happen to good persons, are signal advantages to their virtues, and they always grow into a more Christian habit and temper by them : nay, in respect of wicked men, they have this tendency likewise, and will obtain the like advantage, unless it be prevented by an incorrigible obstinacy, or a confirmed habit and disposition that cannot change. This was the Apostle's method, concerning the Corinthian that was guilty of incest, to excommunicate him (which was always attended with bodily pain), and is therefore expressed, "to deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord," 1 Cor. v. 5. And it is not to be ques-

tioned, but this is often the process of Divine Providence, to cast men into a state of adversity, as the most proper and effectual remedy of their vices.

And then, secondly, afflictions, as they reduce the extravagant temper of flesh and blood, by which our virtues become more easy, so they will excite a greater vigilancy for the future, that we offend not afterwards, when we consider the severe chastisements we either presently are, or formerly have been engaged in, as our own conscience will inform us of the true cause and occasion of them. These will bring us to a just apprehension and notion of sin, that we rightly conceive of it, as it is in its own nature, when we observe these chastisements upon it, and so carry us in our utmost diligence to a hearty repentance, and endeavour against it.

Afflictions likewise are proper means, and have a direct influence to many particular instances of virtue; they conquer the insolency of our natures by a kind of weight and pressure upon them, and so instate us in a habit of humility and lowly mindedness, that we be not possessed with any vain conceptions of ourselves; they take off the fretfulness of our temper, and work a disposition of patience in us, and a quiet resignation to the will of God, whatsoever events we shall at any time be concerned in. And these disappointments of our outward circumstances will excite a due faith in us, and make us look up to our heavenly Father in a firm reliance upon him, either for the influences of his blessed Spirit, to support us under them, or the effects of his gracious providence to deliver us from them; as God himself speaks in an equal reflection upon the Jews and other people, Hos. v. 15, "In their affliction they will seek me early." And this holy discipline continued upon us, will secure our constancy in these virtues, or promote our farther advance in them; and if it be removed from us through this effect of it, it will leave such a sense and remembrance behind it, that we shall scarce venture upon such courses as may incur it over again.

And afflictions, furthermore, are a demonstration to other people of the desert and offence of sin, which is always the occasion of them, and so may be the same means of recovery therefrom, and of the virtues of a holy life to them likewise. They are not distinguishable, as to the matter of them, from punishment, although they are not formally so, the same instances having this difference upon the righteous and upon the wicked, that they are a discipline to the one for refor-

tion, but pure judgment to the other for destruction. And, therefore, whatsoever design they are sent upon, they are plain convictions of the contrariety of sin to the nature of God, and the severe judgment that he will at last inflict upon it, and so may be a proper inducement to all people to repent, and depart from it.

These may be the reasons why God inflicts his temporal punishments, or the calamities of this life upon good people, although he does not equally inflict them upon all. Some he allows in a perpetual prosperity, without any portion of them, or any chastisement of their past sins : and some he exercises continually under them, notwithstanding their signal attainments and proficiency in a good life : and some he rescues from them, when they have more proceeded in their virtues, and arrived at the further habits of them : and all this according to the counsel of his own will, or the unsearchable depths of infinite wisdom.

And as to those penances that were usually inflicted upon notorious sinners in the discipline of the Church, they were for other purposes, and not to satisfy the Divine justice for such a share of punishment due to sin, as was exempt from the expiation of Christ's sufferings.

And first, they were inflicted, that such offenders, in a long process of holy discipline, might afford a more certain evidence of the sincerity of their repentance ; and that other people who cannot look into the heart, or see the disposition of that deceitful principle, might be fully satisfied thereof, that the Church by this means, as much as is compatible with human frailty, might consist of pure members, and mutually excite to holiness of life, and be a mutual check, in respect of the contrary courses.

Another reason of these penances was to give satisfaction to the Church, or answer the offence that is offered to it by a dissolute action, and take off all scandal and reflection from it, that it allows no such misdemeanors, by thus proceeding in the severest censure and penalties upon them ; which, if otherwise, would both encourage its own members to an unchristian behaviour, and also afford an infinite disparagement of that holy society, and the Gospel profession to those without.

Another reason of such a severe discipline, according to the proportion of their sins (some excluding longer from Christian assemblies, and the prayers of the Church, and the advantage of the blessed sacrament, some less), was this, that such

offenders might duly reflect upon the nature of sin, in that opportunity of suffering for it; and from thence be carried to a hearty contrition and sorrow for it, a humble supplication for mercy and pardon, through the atonement of Christ Jesus, and a sincere endeavour and firm resolution of amendment afterwards, which will be more intense according to the degree of these penances, and more preserve them from the like offences, lest they incur the same punishment over again.

Another design was the benefit of others, that being admonished by these examples upon sin, they might be more deterred from the practice of it, and not account it such a slight thing as corrupt nature, and the suggestions of flesh and blood would pronounce, or represent it to be; which reason is assigned by the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 20. And these public censures on the actors of more grievous sins will produce a greater aversion in the minds of men, and a greater caution and endeavour against them, than the most reasonable institution or precepts can do, that have no such penalty annexed to them, as might be demonstrated from a prospect of human nature, if a sad experience did not witness to it, where these censures are wanting. This is the notion of ecclesiastical discipline, or public penances in the Church, according to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, not to satisfy the Divine justice for a certain share of the punishment of our sins, as the Romanists now maintain, but as a better advantage of our Christian virtues, either to recover us from habits of sin, or in the efficacy of a public example, preserve and secure us from falling into them.

Thus having laid down the true account of satisfaction, which is only proper to Christ Jesus, from the dignity of his person, and which he fully rendered to the Divine justice upon the cross, in regard to the whole offence and consequence of sin, leaving no part of the punishment thereof to our persons, after the exercise of a true repentance; and also having shewn that the afflictions of this life are graciously sent, in the effect of the Divine goodness, to restore us to a state of virtue, or that we may arrive at a farther improvement and degree of it; and likewise that Church censures had the same notion and design in them, according to the sense of the first antiquity, where they were most carefully practised with that true success of a more eminent piety that belongs to them; I shall now, upon this advantage, proceed to explain those texts of Scripture which the Romanists bring for the demonstration of their

doctrine, that some temporal penalties still remain to be undergone by us after the remission of the guilt of sin, and its whole relation to eternal misery ; and that these penalties can be removed, and satisfied for, either in the sufferings of this life, or some certain penances upon ourselves.

Now as to the first, that some penalties still remain after the sin is pardoned, they insist upon these places. First, Gen. ii. 17, concerning Adam, that he was left subject to death, and his whole posterity in like manner, after his trespass was remitted in the promise of a Redeemer : which common fate of all mankind, with the first parent and author of it, the Apostle describes, Rom. v.12, " As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin ; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Now the answer to this is easy, that death now is no punishment to good people, nor comes upon them in that respect ; for since the sting thereof is taken away by our Saviour, the whole desert of our sins fully expiated and atoned for in his sufferings upon the term of our repentance, there is a double advantage in death, both a deliverance from the temptations of this life, and a translation of us into the blessedness of another. Such is the contrivance of infinite wisdom, and the efficacy of the Divine goodness, that that which was our greatest punishment, in the means of Christ's sufferings is become our greatest benefit ; that which terminated this animal life, and also contained in it eternal death, or delivered us over to the miseries of another world, is made the passage to the glories of the heavenly state. And whereas Bellarmine says in a supposed triumph over Calvin, "that death can have no relation to our virtues, or proficiency in them for the time to come, seeing it would be a ridiculous assertion to maintain, that men were punished with death, that they might live more cautiously afterwards :" this does not hinder, but that death is truly considerable as a benefit to good people, and not a punishment, which transfers them then to the haven of heavenly bliss. But however the manner of death may give an occasion to several virtues, and be an exercise of our piety in many respects ; as suppose it be the instance of martyrdom, then it affords due matter of a holy resignation to the will of God, a resolved patience and fortitude of mind, to support us under those agonies, as it is a proper incitement of our Christian faith to exert itself with more vigour upon God, for a more liberal assistance of Divine grace, and also of great influence

to other people, to confirm them in those truths for which it is undertaken and submitted to. And death may be a benefit to many, as it may come immaturely upon them in the vigour of their constitution, and not in a state of weakness and infirmity, or the natural causes thereof; in that it prevents some certain opportunities and temptations to sin, which in the continuance of life and health, would have been undoubtedly complied withal, as the author of the Book of Wisdom speaks of some, “that were speedily taken away, lest that wickedness should alter their understanding, or deceit beguile their soul,” chap. iv. 10. Now, although it be a ridiculous thing to affirm that men are punished with death, that they may live more cautiously afterwards, seeing there is no repentance or amendment after that, yet it is no ridiculous thing at all, but a method of Divine Providence, to remove those by an anticipation to their natural temper, into the happiness of the other world, while they are in a better disposition and habit for it, whom a longer stay or continuance would certainly carry into some vices: and therefore death, in the manner thereof, as it respects the last instance of our lives, or the time antecedent to it, may be very beneficial to us; this may bring us into more thorough inquiries of ourselves; a more full apprehension of our former sins; a stronger aversion to them; and more hearty purposes, and a sincere beginning of the contrary virtues; and these examples of the Divine Providence in this respect, are like to produce the same effects, and good fruits upon other people.

But then, according to their own argument (so full of contradiction is a false doctrine), death cannot be supposed in the nature of a punishment as to several people, who yet are subject to it; for those that immediately die after baptism, are quite free, both from the penalty and guilt of sin in their notion,* that being perfectly done away in that holy sacrament, and special application of Christ’s sacrifice; and therefore there is no manner of sufferings left or remaining to such persons; but death is a pure benefit to them, as indeed it is to all that die in the exercise of a true repentance, and the habit of their Christian virtues.

Another argument they insist on for these remains of temporal punishment after the pardon of sin, is the example of David, who was punished for his adultery with Bathsheba by

* Bell. lib. 4. Poenit. c. 1. [ut supra, p. 614. col. 2.]

the death of the young child, after the guilt of that abominable instance was remitted to him, 2 Sam. xii. 13. But that this had a future regard in it to restrain David and other people, by his example, from such lawless indulgences afterwards, and so was the chastisement of a Father, and not an act of pure judgment, may be plainly evinced in opposition to the Cardinal's two reasons to the contrary. The first of which is, that those words of the prophet, after he had declared the pardon of his sin, ver. 14, "Howbeit because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die;" respect only what was past, and so express a punishment in them: and indeed that it was a punishment as to the matter of it, cannot be denied; but that it was not formally so, as not being inflicted without a gracious purpose of a moral good, or better conversation for the time to come, which pure punishment quite excludes, and so had a future reference in it, needs no further argument, than only a consideration of the words themselves, which may be thus explained, and paraphrased upon: "Because by this enormous act thou hast offered a pretence to profane people to think unworthily of the Divine nature, or deny the essential purity thereof, and so allow themselves in such brutish practices; therefore to vindicate that, and prevent the consequence of such an ill notion, or the loose behaviour that would more prevail upon it, the child that is born to thee shall surely die:" for if it had lived, it might plausibly have been said, that God receives into his special favour adulterers and murderers, and no way discriminates between the profligate and the virtuous; which would have been a main encouragement to such wicked courses. His second reason, that it was an act of pure justice or punishment upon David, is drawn from David's opinion in the matter, that it was so, which his mourning, fasting, and prostration upon the ground for the recovery of the child, does plainly evidence; for, says he, he would never have deprecated such a thing as was beneficial to him upon the account of his stricter caution, and more constant piety afterwards, and which was inflicted for that very purpose. But how does this appear to be David's opinion? His behaviour in the case seems only to be influenced from his compassion for the child, and his great faith, or his strong persuasion of the exorable nature of God; for when the child was dead, he returned to his wonted comforts and enjoyments of life.

And as to his better behaviour for the time to come, were not his fasting, &c. proper expressions of a true repentance? And the more these exercises were intended, or the longer he kept in the occasion of them, the more they were like to imprint upon him, and produce the stronger purposes against such enormities afterwards.

And what he urges, that he would never have deprecated such a penalty as he saw to have a direct tendency both to his own and others' virtues, is as inconsistent, as if one should conclude, that because a sick person is very averse to the bitter potions that are prescribed him, and would willingly decline them, if he could with any regard to his own safety; therefore they are only penalties upon him, and not remedies of his distemper, being to be denominated from his aversion to them, and not from the effects which they produce in him. The Apostle says, "that he besought the Lord thrice, when he was buffeted of the messenger of Satan, that it might depart from him." Shall one therefore affirm, that that calamity was inflicted upon him, as a punishment of his past sins, and not for his caution afterwards? The Apostle himself refutes this, and expressly declares that that circumstance, whether it were some bodily sickness, or whatsoever else, was therefore dispensed to him, to secure him from spiritual pride, and preserve him in a habit of Christian modesty; "lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh," 2 Cor. xii. 7. The saints may deprecate, from a certain common sense of nature that abhors suffering, those things that they discern to be profitable for them, if they be painful, or grievous to them. And that David did so much pray against the death of his son, does only signify that it was a most sensible loss to him; and not that it would be no advantage to his repentance, and better life for the time to come.

And as to that other instance of David, his numbering the people, 2 Sam. xxiv., which he heartily repented of, ver. 10; and therefore, according to the Divine promise, was remitted and pardoned to him, yet, after that, had his choice of three evils, one of which he must suffer and submit to: this also is to be explained in a parallel meaning with the former place, that it was only a fatherly chastisement upon David, in order to recover him to his proper virtue of humility of spirit, and dependence on God, and remove him from a vain confidence in an arm of flesh, or the multitude of his people, which his mind was possessed with at that time.

And as to the people, it was most certainly a righteous dispensation and judgment upon them, and perhaps may be thus accounted for, that those that were slain by this pestilence, were such as were parties in Sheba's rebellion, chap. xx. ; that of Absalom's being punished before with the slaughter of twenty thousand men, chap. xviii. 7, which was less in respect of the people, he being of the lineage of David, and having the right of primogeniture in it, but the other a Benjamite and foreigner thereto. And that this was the probable reason of this mortality, may hence appear, that Jerusalem, which maintained her allegiance, and adhered to David in that conspiracy, was spared, ver. 16, chap. xxiv.

Another passage they produce to this effect, is concerning Miriam, Numb. xii. who for her controversy with Moses (in which she had engaged Aaron likewise), upon the account of his foreign wife from the lineage of Israel, being smitten with a leprosy, the usual punishment of pride, as Grotius observes, and being healed thereof at the supplication of Moses, which was a sign of the pardon of her sin, was yet excluded from the assembly seven days, to demonstrate a remaining punishment to it after that. But this separation likewise being such a slight thing as it was, cannot be esteemed a judicial act, but was the discipline of a father only for her moral good ; that by a kind of penance for her misbehaviour, she might be brought to a greater shame and sense of it, and a more hearty contrition upon that account, and also repair the great offence she had offered thereby, and afford an instruction to all people ; what a grievous wickedness that is, in the sight of God, to envy his ministers the advancement of their high function, or contemn them in the discharge of it : and upon this instance were founded the Jewish censures or separations from the synagogue, in case of any public sin ; as also exclusions from holy things in the Christian Church, till the offending persons had given some evidence of the truth of their repentance. But neither this removal of Miriam for seven days, nor the censures of the Church were proper punishments, or inflicted as satisfactions to Divine justice, as I proved before.

Another instance which they bring, is from the history of the golden calf, when the people fell into idolatry to it, Exod. xxxii. Bellarmine's words hereupon, are these, " Many thousand men were slain, without any difference, for the adoration of the calf ; neither is it credible, that all those did die in the merit of that sin, when the Lord did testify that at the prayers of Moses he had remitted it." — But here is no mention of the

remission of the sin, all that is signified in the text is only this, that God, through the entreaty and intercession of Moses, was prevailed upon to repress the vehemency of his anger towards them, and not consume them by an utter destruction, as he was first inclined to do, ver. 10; for it is immediately subjoined to his supplication, "And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do to his people," that is, upon this occasion, he, as it were, reversed his purpose of their final ruin and desolation, which is the whole importance of the place; not that he pardoned that abominable fact, for he stored it up for future vengeance, as he himself acquaints us, ver. 31: "Nevertheless in the day when I visit, I will visit this their sin upon them :" and ver. 35, "The Lord plagued the people, because they made the calf that Aaron made," which was after the slaughter or atonement that Moses commanded, ver. 27. And whereas he says, that there were many thousand slain, it is expressly contrary to the Hebrew text, in a general agreement of all copies, which only mention three; but perhaps a Latin version, where the sum is twenty thousand, may be more authentic than the original with some people. And what he affirms not to be credible, that all those should die in their sin, is without any proof or reason at all. Why should one reckon it so incredible, that among such a number of guilty persons (the whole amounting to six hundred thousand), there should be three thousand so wholly resolved to their idol-worship, that they should die in that obstinate purpose, without any motion of repentance in them ? For if we reflect upon the person of Moses, we cannot imagine, if we could suppose such a thing of the Levites, and that they had not been more averse to that wickedness, which inspired them with so much zeal to be the instruments of vengeance upon it; I say, we cannot imagine it of Moses, if we could of the performance of the Levites, that he should command an undistinguishing slaughter without any difference of guilt, or innocence, or repentance; but that they were a company of more furious idolaters, and the chief promoters of that foul immorality, whom he enjoined to be slain, and they performed his injunctions upon. And this most probable account of the action, makes it nothing relating to the purpose it is brought for. For what respect has a just punishment upon some hardened and impenitent idolaters, to those penalties which, according to the Roman hypothesis, God requires from good men after the pardon of their former sins ? But however, suppose, which is less probable, that in that

slaughter of three thousand, some fell in the advantage of a true repentance, and the remission that is consequent thereto ; how is that a punishment, or how imports it a satisfaction to Divine justice, to be translated into the happiness of another world, which death, through the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, is the passage to ? Or is it not rather a signal instance of infinite goodness, to be removed from the temptations of this life, while one remains in the habit of a true repentance, and firm resolution of their virtues ?

Another proof they bring is Numb. xiv. Bellarmine's argument from this place, is in these words : "The whole people repined and murmured, yet in the means of Moses's intercession, God was appeased and reconciled to them : but nevertheless, as the punishment of that crime, all the Jews that were then numbered, died in the wilderness, except Caleb and Joshua who murmured not ; and now besides (as we have said before), that the punishment of death cannot be for future amendment, God himself testifies in that place, that he exacted that punishment in revenge of their sin, and ye shall know, says he, my revenge, *Et sciatis ultionem meam*—." Now let us consider this author's reasons, why the temporal death of this people within the compass of forty years, for their dissatisfaction with an extraordinary bounty of Providence towards them after the pardon or remission thereof, ver. 20, must be concluded to have been a punishment.—And his first is, that death cannot be inflicted upon any account of reformation. This had been true in regard to the persons themselves upon whom it was inflicted, if it had been a present death, because it is allowed on both sides that there is no repentance after that. But did all these people die at once ? Was not this judgment expressly declared and denounced to them ? And were they not leisurely summoned by it, so as one to be an example to another, and all to have sufficient notice of it ? And was not death then denounced, and inflicted in such a manner, a proper means of their reformation, when they beheld it marching up and down the Hebrew camp, and knew certainly it would come to themselves in such a time ? So that it is not to be questioned, but that this death had the effect of a certain discipline upon good people, and was very beneficial to their stricter behaviour, and their farther attainments in a virtuous life ; and as to impenitent persons, who most probably were the first instances thereof, as not being reclaimable by any farther opportunities or examples before them (and I hope he will not say their sins

were pardoned), it was indeed a punishment to them, which must needs be their portion some time or other ; but it afforded a proper instruction to those that survived them, and was likewise designed as a moral advantage and special document to succeeding ages, according to the Apostle, 1 Cor. x. 11, where he reckons up this, among other punishments of the Jewish nation, “ Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.”

And as to what he secondly insists on, that this is called a revenge, ver. 34. (although it was properly a punishment, and a commencement of everlasting misery in respect of those that were not qualified for the remission of sins), is only their Latin version, and not agreeable to the Hebrew text,* which signifies a breach or rupture, and imports thus much, “ that whereas, by a strange instance of discontentment and distrust of my power, you have violated my covenant on your part, I will also break it in my respect, or recede from the promises annexed to it, as to your own persons (you shall all die in this wilderness), although I will perform it upon your posterity, Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun, and your little ones, which you said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have despised,” ver. 31. So that the whole scope of the place is this : upon the entreaty and supplication of Moses, God was pleased to pardon their sin, that he would not smite them with the pestilence, or disinherit them, as he first declared he would do, ver. 12 ; but he would graciously exercise them under the sense and apprehension of death, within a certain compass of forty years, as a means of their stricter virtues, and more careful behaviour afterwards.

And the death of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, they being not permitted, because of their unbelief at the waters of Meribah, to enter the promised land, is produced as another instance to this purpose (Numb. xx. Deut. xxxii.) ; “ for,” says Bellarmine, “ none can deny but that they were both received into the Divine favour after the commission of that sin, and therefore a certain punishment remained after the guilt thereof was pardoned.” That they were received into the Divine favour, is not to be questioned ; and therefore, it was only a fatherly discipline for their own, and the people’s good. Their

* אהית תנו וידעתם

death denounced to them, would always preserve and keep in their minds a sense of their sin which was the occasion of it, and be an incitement of their repentance ; and being inflicted, would be an instance to other people of the great offence of infidelity, or distrust in God, the more effectually to secure them from that sin, and to engage their dependence upon him for a due provision in all their circumstances that he should at any time bring them into. And it is a famous example of human infirmity, and also of the purity of the Divine essence, that will not suffer the least miscarriage in his dearest servants, without some instance of displeasure upon it, though that always be in such a matter as has a relation to their spiritual good : and it is no question but these holy men made these advantages from it. Although there was something of mystery in it, that Moses should not enter the promised land, that felicity being reserved to Joshua, to represent or signify to us, that true Israelites did not arrive at the kingdom of bliss, through the efficacy of the old law which Moses was the minister of, but by the conduct of our Saviour Christ, whose figure Joshua was, and whose name he bore. And if we consider the thing itself, it cannot be accounted really a punishment, to be translated into a heavenly Canaan, against such a strange fancy to continue some longer time in an earthly one, which was exactly their case in both their respects.

Another instance is the prophet of Judah, who came to prophecy against the altar at Bethel, and was slain by a lion for his disobedience to the command of God, in eating and drinking in that place, 1 Kings xiii. Now Bellarmine's argument upon the place runs thus : " Seeing this calamity was foretold this prophet, by the other prophet in Bethel, it cannot be doubted but that he repented, and so obtained forgiveness from God ; for it is an evidence of his sanctity, in which he finished this mortal life, that the hungry lion offered no violence to his carcase, nor to the ass that stood by it." And this of his repentance must easily be granted ; for he that paid such a regard to the message of God, that he was seduced by a pretence of it, may well be supposed to have been persuaded by a true oracle and embassy to him, which being in such a matter concerning his hasty or untimely death, must needs be the strongest inducement to the consideration of his sin, and the most hearty address for pardon of it. But in that it was so, that it had this efficacy to his repentance, it must be concluded to have been a fatherly chastisement, and not a

satisfaction to Divine justice, or a mere punishment and vengeance upon him. And this fatherly severity could not but have this influence with it, as to other people, to be a perpetual admonition to them, not to be carried against the authority of a Divine revelation, or even the dictates of unprejudiced reason, by the contrary doctrines of any man, though he should bear the name of a prophet, and even pretend a particular mission or inspiration for it ; and therefore there is no need to determine this calamity of this holy man to have been properly a Divine punishment, when there are so many other evident reasons and advantages of that thing, his own proficiency, or the further attainment of his own virtues, and the exemplary instruction of good people, that they should firmly adhere to the word of God against all the doctrines and traditions of men that are contrary thereto. But perhaps Bellarmine had no mind to take notice of such a plain deduction and inference as this.

The last place this author produces for these remains of temporal punishments, after the pardon of sin, is from the first epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi. ver. 29, &c. upon which he thus forms his argument : “ The Apostle writes, that many of those who unworthily communicated of the sacrament of Christ’s body, had death inflicted on them as the punishment of their sin : for, says he, therefore many are weak among you, and many sleep : but that these very people were reconciled to God before their death, he acquaints us after, when he adds, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.” But the Apostle does not say, that death was inflicted as a punishment ; this is a commentary besides the text, in defence of a doctrine that has no text for it ; but he says, “ that we are therefore chastened of the Lord, lest we should be condemned with the world.” Than which he could not have informed us more expressly of the nature of this correption, that it was not to punish the offence, but to recover the offender, and therefore it was no punishment, properly speaking, but a medicine or remedy ; whose whole designment is to that effect. Nor upon this mention of death can he object his old sentence, that it is ridiculous to affirm that men are punished with death, that they may live more cautiously afterwards, seeing it was not inflicted in one moment, as is observable from the words of the text, but they were first sick, by which they perceived their mortal condition, or the several advances of their dissolution, the more forcibly

to induce them to prepare for it, and then they died in some space of that sickness. They were thus chastised with these infirmities, and the fear of death thereupon, that by this means they might more examine their former neglects, and more seriously purpose and resolve against them, and either live with more caution afterwards, if their health was restored to them, or depart in a better preparation, and more confidence, into the mansions of another world. And so their death, in such a manner, was an advantage to their own salvation, as well as exemplary to other people, to instruct them from these afflictions of their brethren, that they approach with more reverence to the holy sacrament of Christ's body, and not as to an ordinary meal or table.

And thus we see how little these texts prove that assertion they are brought for, that they do not denote a judicial punishment, or a satisfaction to Divine justice, which has no regard to the moral good, or reformation of the offender, as appears from those malefactors that are either condemned by the civil magistrate, or delivered over to the pains of hell, by the juster judgment and tribunal of God ; but that they only signify a fatherly discipline, and a gracious method of the Divine love in order to their amendment, who are exercised under them.

I should now consider those texts of Scripture which the Romanists bring for these satisfactions in another world, or those temporal pains that are to be endured in a state of purgatory, which is a middle region between heaven and hell ; for that place is founded for men to discharge some remains of punishment, that are left on the score to Divine justice, above their sufferings in this life, and not improve them any whit thereby, or gain the disposition of one virtue in them. Such a more improbable notion is it than the purgatory of Plato, or Pythagoras was, who made it a place of purification for those that were but indifferently either good or evil, in order to qualify them for a higher sphere of heavenly happiness : I say, I should consider those texts of Scripture which the Romanists bring for their satisfactions in purgatory, but they will be examined by a better hand.

PART II.

I THEREFORE come to their second assertion, that those temporal penalties that still remain as a debt to sin, after the pardon or forgiveness of it, may be removed, and satisfied for either in the chastisements of this life (as they are inflicted in a course of Providence), which we patiently suffer and submit to; or by some voluntary penances upon ourselves. And having proved before that there are no such remaining penalties, and that the Scriptures brought for that purpose, have no such scope or design in them, as also that penances had another reason in the first institution and practice of them, I have quite obviated this labour; but however, seeing they produce texts of Scripture for this also, I shall examine them, and endeavour to put their right sense and comment upon them.

And the first is the example of the Ninevites, who had an utter desolation proclaimed against them, "yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," Jonah iii. 4. "Nevertheless," says our author, "by their works of penance, fasting, prayers, sackcloth and ashes, God was appeased towards them, and preserved their city, or delivered them from that ruin." But he here takes the outward signs, and concomitants of repentance for the thing itself, and applies that to them, which belongs to the inward principle or cause of them. It was an unfeigned change of mind from their evil courses, and their particular sin of violence, and oppression in their great men, which is almost inseparable from absolute governments, to which this deliverance is asserted, ver. 10, "And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil that he said he would do unto them, and he did it not." A sincere repentance, which only consists in a true reformation of temper and spirit, must needs produce a hearty sorrow for past misdemeanors, which will too close demonstrate itself in most earnest supplications, severe fastings, coarse apparel, and the like, as the necessary effects thereof; but then the reconciliation that is in it, is not to be attributed to these outward performances, as if the offence of the Divine Majesty were satisfied for by these, but to that change of spirit which they result from, this being the object of the whole art and ma-

nagement of Providence, as that which God only delights in, an inward principle, or habit of righteousness in our natures.

Another place is in 2 Chron. vii. 14, where God declares, that in case of any public calamity upon his people, whether immoderate rain, or locusts, or pestilence, “if they shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear in heaven, and will forgive their sins, and will heal their land.” Now the stress of the words our author lays upon humbling themselves; and their rendering of the word ‘turn,’ *si paenitentiam egerint*, as if the effects of God’s forgiveness were only to be ascribed to some outward acts of humiliation, and not a true and hearty conversion from their evil ways, which is the same misapplication I observed before. The plain paraphrase of the text is this; that if some nation, through a long course and habit of sin, either have some grievous punishment impending upon them, or be actually engaged and exercised under it, yet if they repent of their great miscarriages, and in the effect of a true repentance, detest and forsake them for the time to come, and be very humble in the sense of them, and address to God for his infinite clemency and mercy to them, according to the exuberance of that attribute, he will then pardon their offences, or remove those judgments, that necessarily attend them and belong to them.

Another place insisted on, are the words of the Prophet Jeremiah, chap. xviii. 7, 8: “At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.” The stress of their argument still lies upon the rendering of the words, “if they turn from their evil,” which in the vulgar Latin is *paenitentiam egerit*, and which they explain by acts of penance. But this has no further authority than their version only, which does not express the Hebrew text, nor the words of those better interpreters of holy Scripture, though not infallible neither, the Seventy-two, both which are exactly rendered in our English Bible, “if they turn from their evil;” and how that can be the authentic language, and canon of Scripture, or the foundation of any doctrine, which is not accommodable to the original, in which the dictates of the Holy Spirit were first delivered, I cannot see. If they say there is a continual influence of this Holy Spirit with the pastors of

Christ's Church, which we cannot deny in several cases; suppose them possessed of an honest design and love of truth, and that they have no secular aims in them of advantage, or profit when they apply to their great office; yet it is not imaginable how these should so much better express their notions, than the Prophets and Apostles did, or that there should be any repugnances to one another in those things which all proceeded from the same principle. And although we should not be grammatical expositors of the holy Scriptures in the strict propriety of the words, which Bellarmine charges Erasmus and Valla withal; yet we must not interpret any place against the harmony of the whole Bible, or establish any doctrine that is inconsistent with that. Indeed to "turn from their evil," might fitly enough be rendered by *pœnitentiam agere*, but when it establishes an unscriptural doctrine, nor is agreeable to the analogy of the place in its literal acceptation, or interpretation of the words, it is not to be accounted a true version. The importance then, or paraphrase of the place is this, that although a nation should be just ripe for the utmost measures of Divine vengeance, which God, in the full extent of his long-suffering, is then resolved to inflict upon them, yet upon the term of a true repentance, or conversion from sin, to the duties of a holy life, he will recede from his first purpose upon this change of disposition in them, and exempt them from that ruin.

Now Bellarmine allows this effect to repentance, as he cannot do otherwise, but then he affirms, that satisfaction always is contained in it, and is a part or branch thereof, which is both contrary to the best authority and the reason of the thing: for there can be no more than two ingredients of repentance, a true sorrow for past offences, and an unfeigned purpose of amendment afterwards, and those several severities, whether in diet or apparel, are only the results of that sorrow, and some visible marks or testimonies thereof. And that repentance should include satisfaction in it, is inconsistent with the use of the Scripture words for that thing, which only refer to the acts of the mind and imply the whole work to be performed there (*μετανοεῖν*, *μεταμέλεσθαι*), which are well rendered by Erasmus, *resipiscere*, *animum mutare*, notwithstanding Bellarmine's satire and invective against him, as might be exemplified from many places, particularly 2 Cor. xii. 21, which must be interpreted concerning a conversion or change of the mind, and has no relation to any voluntary

sufferings or infliction upon themselves for past sins, that they might recompense the Divine justice thereby. But the use of this expression will more appear, when it is attributed to God, as it often is in this place, Jonah iii. 10, and iv. 2. Amos vii. 3, 6 ; where it would be blasphemy to suppose any suffering, or any displeasure or revenge upon himself for any past action : as indeed he never repents or changes his purpose, immutably acting in the different dispensations of mercy or judgment, as free creatures are disposed in themselves ; but according to the apprehension of men, when the effect of any threatening is suspended, the repentance is applied to him, which indeed is in their own spirits.

Another place brought for this doctrine, that these temporal punishments may be satisfied for by voluntary sufferings or penance, is Prov. xvi. 6 ; which, according to the authority of the Latin version runs thus : “ by mercy and truth iniquity is redeemed.” Now upon this our author argues, “ that the word redemption being at least equivalent to satisfaction, if it may be affirmed, as we find it more than once in holy Scripture, that sins may be redeemed ; then it is an easier assertion that they may be satisfied for.” To which it may be first answered, that *redeemed* is not the importance, or proper rendering of the word, but purged, or expiated, or propitiated for, which agrees in meaning with remitted ; and to this sense the Septuagint expound it in several places, Isa. xxii. 14, and xxvii. 9, &c.—But to allow our adversaries a word, suppose it should be *redeemed*, it would not found the Roman doctrine in this particular : for if we should grant, that iniquity here implies the effect thereof, that is, punishment, as it often does, though probably not in this place ; yet beneficence and truth being the most joyous employments that we are capable of, which have the greatest pleasure belonging to them, cannot be called penal actions, such as those are defined to be, that are satisfactions to Divine justice for the temporal punishment of our sins, as we say, that through the graces of faith and repentance our sins are remitted, yet it cannot be affirmed, that faith and repentance are proper penalties or satisfactions, by which the consequence of sin is taken away as to the temporal punishment of it. But supposing that *redeem* be the proper rendering, and this refer to the punishment of sin, not to the guilt or matter of it, yet we must observe, that to *redeem*, does not always signify in the usage of holy Scripture, to deliver one from an inconve-

nience by the solution of a certain price, or something equivalent, and adequate thereto, as in the ransom of our Saviour; but it often denotes barely to deliver without any satisfaction or payment at all; as when it is so often said, "God redeemed his people from the bondage of Egypt;" and such a frequent expression in the book of Psalms, concerning the exemption of holy David from his personal dangers, "The Lord redeemed my life from destruction," Psal. cxix., cxxxiv., &c. And it is very remarkable that of the Prophet Isaiah, lli. 3, "Ye shall be redeemed without money." So that whether we take this place in its natural rendering, or after their own interpretation of it, it cannot be the proof of such a doctrine; the plain meaning of which is this, that those particular vices of fraud, or injustice, are purged away, and a righteous temper advanced in us, by the exercise of a true beneficence to one another (the latter substantive supplying the place of an adjective, as it often does in the Hebrew language); or if iniquity be here to be explained of the punishment thereof, then the sense is, that through the habit of this virtue, that is remitted and done away. But the first explanation concerning a spring and principle of righteousness in ourselves, is more probable from the latter member of this verse, "and by the fear of the Lord, men depart from evil;" it being the manner of this proverbial writer, for the most part, to repeat the sense of the former clause of every verse in the second, or express it over again in other words.

Another place that is commonly urged for these satisfactions to Divine justice for the temporal punishment of sin, is that of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iv. 27: "Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity." Now the word where the whole stress of the argument lies, which we render "break off," does also signify to redeem or free, and therefore may well be snatched at by some men for the ground of such a doctrine, as being against the harmonious sense of the whole Bible, can only be maintained by some forced interpretations of some places of it. But then, allowing the word *redeem*, which often denotes, as I observed before, only to rescue or free, without the interposal of any satisfaction, it cannot be applied to this purpose, according to the tenor of their own principles, if they will proceed consistently upon them. For as they account for this thing, men only satisfy for the temporal pains of their sins, after they are received into

the Divine favour, and have their guilt and eternal punishment remitted to them, and therefore believers, or justified persons, are only within this privilege. But Nebuchadnezzar being a tyrant, and an idolater, and a stranger from the Jewish religion, the prophet Daniel could not apply to him in this sense, as if he were in friendship with God, and had the demerit and guilt of sin, with the eternal consequence thereof, pardoned and cancelled; nor does he intimate such a distinction in the punishment of sin, but only speaks in a general manner, "Redeem thy sins by righteousness," &c. What Bellarmine says upon the account of this heathen, that the works of unregenerate men, in a special influence of Divine grace, can redeem by a kind of congruity from the guilt of sin; and therefore those of just men being exerted by more plentiful measures of the Holy Spirit dwelling in them, are so available, that they may be said condignly to redeem by a just desert in themselves, from the penalty of sin, is unreasonable, as well as against the tenor of the Scripture, seeing none can attain such a disposition in themselves, which is to found that congruity, or arrive at such a perfection of good works, even with all the advantage of Gospel grace, as may entitle them to the Divine favour in the merit of the thing, and not in the effect of infinite mercy, or according to the gracious allowances thereof, (but this belongs to another argument.) Wherefore the plain interpretation and sense of the place is this: "Change the habit of thy former courses, thy pride, thy avarice and oppression, with which thou hast treated all people, as if they were not in the same prerogative of reasonable creatures, and the mutual offices and the common regard that belongs to such, not due to them, and possess thy mind with a just sense of the common nature of mankind, and the civil duties thou owest to those whom God has appointed, or set thee over, and then behave thyself with a due humanity to thy fellow-creatures, an impartial justice to every subject of thy great empire, and a special beneficence to afflicted people, such as are in a distressed circumstance, particularly the poor captive Israelites, who are the examples of thy pride and tyranny; and if thou arrive at such a conversion in thyself, thou mayest happily divert the Divine vengeance that hangs over thee, there being then no subject for it, but that removed which God both denounces and executes it upon." So that here is no compensation to the justice of God, but only the change of a true repentance, that leaves no vices in the minds of men to be the matter of his indignation.

Another place is Luke xi. 41: "Give alms of such as ye

have ; and behold, all things are clean unto you." Upon which some affirm, "that to give alms is to satisfy for sin." But, first, whatsoever we are purified by, cannot be said to be a satisfaction, for so we are by faith and baptism, and the Word of God. And then purity refers to the mind itself, and the removal of the vicious inclinations and habits thereof, that that be possessed with an inward frame and disposition of virtue, which satisfaction has no regard to, being only to compensate the Divine justice, and not to make one the better by it. The place indeed is very remote to their purpose, and one would wonder how it should have been produced for it, the importance of which is plainly this, in refutation of the outside purities of the Pharisees, who were so superstitious upon that account, that alms-giving, or beneficence to the poor, is the best means to purify ourselves, and to render our possessions likewise pure. Which is very evident, as this beneficence or charity is an instance of justice to our heavenly Father, to return him a certain tribute of his bounty to us, and as it contains repentance in it, of our frauds or oppressions that we may have possibly been guilty of, and makes amends for them to bestow that upon indigent people, which, perhaps, through some impediment, we cannot restore to the owners themselves ; and as it also demonstrates a Christian disposition of love in us to our brethren : so that those who are due proficients in this, both their consciences are pure, and all their estates or enjoyments likewise, as the Apostle acquaints us in the like manner, Titus i. 15 : "Unto the pure all things are pure," &c. And an author* of their own thus explains this place, in reference to the Pharisees, says he, "The sense of it is, that their minds being polluted with injustice and rapine, might be purified, they were commanded to give alms of such as they had, that those who had unjustly taken what did not belong to them, should bestow their just possessions in the relief of other people, that so it might come to pass, that to those who were of a pure spirit, all outward things might be pure to them before God." And now from this obvious account and interpretation of the place, let any one observe what a support it is to the doctrine of satisfactions.

Another place is produced from the words of John Baptist to the Pharisees, Matth. iii. 8 : "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance." Now these fruits of repentance must needs be

* Jansenius.

these famous satisfactions by which men compensate the Divine justice for one part of the penalty of their sins, but how they can be asserted from this place is not so obvious ; the scope and meaning of which is, that John observing what great resorts of Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism, whom he knew to be rank hypocrites, and only concerned for a show of religion among men, without any regard to an inward sanctity or habit of virtue in their spirits, as being secure of their acceptance with God in their relation to Abraham, that they were his offspring according to the flesh, to whom the promises were made ; I say, John, observing such conflaxes of such men, he plainly told them of their hypocrisy, and that if they repented according to the purpose of his baptism, they should exemplify a true reformation in all the instances of a holy life, as the proper fruits and evidence thereof, by which they should be the true children and heirs of Abraham, and divert the judgments impending upon them. And what has all this to do with satisfaction, as some of their own authors* explain it ? “ Meet fruits of repentance do not require any bodily labour, but only an inward temper of piety, which is necessary to all men.” And another says, “ By these fruits we intend amendment of manners, and all those works that proceed from a truly penitent and reformed mind.” But let us observe how Bellarmine argues upon the words ; says he, “ Our adversaries do not rightly expound this place, in respect to newness of life, and the observation of the Divine law. For to bring forth worthy fruits of repentance, is to act in such a manner, as becomes a true penitent ; but he that is a true penitent, if he have injured any, not only ceases from the injury, and is more cautious in his behaviour to that person afterwards, but repairs the damage or inconvenience he has done him.” The argument proceeds thus ; “ that because we are to repair our injuries of men in the exercise of our repentance, we are therefore to do so in respect of God likewise.” But this is not a general truth, even in its reference to men ; an injury may be in such a matter, as exceeds our ability either to restore or compensate for, and we cannot imagine that the repentance should be unacceptable for not performing an impossible term, supposing the instance of David, for his murder of Uriah, which we are certain was true ; and he, against whom the injury was acted, may remit it, not insisting on a satis-

* Jansenius and Maldonat upon the place.

faction upon that account, and then there is no obligation thereto. But what have we that we can offer as a compensation to an infinite majesty, to repair the offence thereof? Or where does he require a satisfaction of us, as the means of pardon, or remission from him? But then, if the parallel should hold, that because men must compensate one another for the injuries done them, therefore they must do so to God likewise, seeing compensation does consist of an equal return of honour, or profit, to the detriment of the former action, and thereby satisfying for the whole penalty that belonged to it, it would follow, that we could compensate, not only for the temporal part of the punishment of sin, but for the whole guilt and punishment of it; which is a conclusion they will not allow, in honour to Christ, though they have no such true regard thereto. From whence it appears, that this part of the Baptist's sermon of repentance, has no more reference to the Romish satisfactions, than the former places of Scripture have.

Another place is 2 Cor. vii. 11: "Where the Apostle, among other good fruits of a holy sorrow, that worketh repentance, puts revenge," in the words of Bellarmine. Now this revenge he makes to respect the past time, and to be the same with satisfaction, or a severity upon ourselves, whereby we compensate the Divine justice for the injury of our past sins. But if we take revenge here (*τὴν ἐκδίκησιν*) in a great consent of the Roman authors for the excommunication of the incestuous person, which the Apostle denounced himself in the former Epistle, chap. v. 3, 4, 5, &c. And which always had this designment in it (besides the vindication of the holy doctrines of Christ's Church, by such an instance upon the transgressors of them), to reclaim the guilty persons by a moderate infliction or chastisement upon them, as our Apostle expressly acquaints us in the same place, ver. 5, "that this is for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:" I say, if we take this revenge in this sense, as we are justified in so doing by very many of the Roman communion, then it had a future prospect to amendment or reformation, and was not inflicted as a satisfaction to Divine justice for any part of the punishment of such a miscarriage, which indeed, that it should be upon that account, is against their own doctrine; for according thereto, satisfaction lies open to none, till after the exercise of repentance, being only the benefit of such persons as already are in a state of grace and Divine favour; but this revenge was antecedent

to that, upon a person that then had no disposition for it, or was in the custom and habit of his sin. But then, if we may not interpret the place in this reference to the excommunication of the incestuous person, with such an harmony of learned men, I do not see but it still has the same prospect to afterwards, and was performed as a means of their amendment, and not an act of pure punishment, such as satisfaction properly is: for every word of this whole text looks forward to their improvement in some virtue or other. This correption of the Apostle did excite more vigilance in them, a stronger indignation and disdain of sin, a more sensible fear and caution against it, and a more intense purpose to refrain from it, and it made them act a certain revenge upon themselves, to cut themselves short in their lawful enjoyments, that they might obtain an advantage of virtue, by reducing their sensual appetites, and bringing their bodies into a better compliance by that means, and this is only a due prudence, the more to secure us in the morals of a Christian life, which must be allowed by all people, and their practice too, to chastise themselves by works of penance, proper abstinences, and the like, while these are accounted only as a discipline, and not satisfactions for the penalties of their sins.

The last place insisted on, to this purpose, is 1 Cor. xi. 31: "If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged." Which the Roman writers thus explain and comment upon: "If we would duly exercise ourselves in works of penance, alms, fastings, and other severities upon our bodies, we should thereby compensate for the temporal penalties of our sins, and prevent them in the effect of Divine justice." But this is a plain misapplying of the place, which does not relate to judicial acts, or pure punishment, but to fatherly correptions, or chastisements, only having this purpose in them, to render men better, and reform them thereby; as evidently appears from the following verse, "But when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world." The natural exposition of the text is this, if upon a due inquiry into ourselves to know the propensions of our natures, and the actual miscarriages we have been guilty of in our easy compliance therewith, and so oppose them with more caution, and preclude all advantages they may have against us by a stricter guard over them, and frequent abstinence to abate the principle of them; if we do thus, and obtain a Christian temper in our spirits, in the efficacy thereof, we shall quite

prevent the chastisements of God, as being already partakers of the design of them, and having no need of such an admonition and discipline upon us.

Another argument that Bellarmine urges for his Satisfactions, is from the parallel of the Jewish sacrifices in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of Leviticus, where they are described of a different value and estimation, according to the measure of the fault. And these he proves to have been a “compensation for temporal punishment, because else they would have been frustraneously instituted, seeing they did not expiate the eternal punishment and guilt of sin.” And now allowing this notion of legal sacrifices, yet that penances should have the same efficacy, to compensate for temporal punishment, because these sacrifices in a special appointment, and regard to Christ, or by an influence derived from him, had such a virtue annexed to them, is no consequence. Different penances, or degrees of them, according to the exigence of the distemper, so as to be the best remedies, and the most effectual cures thereof, we do not deny ; but these have no relation to the old sacrifices, nor is there any reason to conclude a common effect or operation between them, the one being the institution of God for what purposes he pleased, and the other only the contrivance of men, though not without their proper advantage in the due use and exercise of them. But to speak the truth of the matter, these were only typical things, both sacrifices and satisfactions, and did only take away legal defilements, that such as had been polluted therewith, in this means, might again be admitted into the tabernacle, and the public service of God there, which otherwise they were to be deprived of ; as the Apostles testifies, “that they only sanctified to the purifying of the flesh, and that they did not purge the conscience of the offerers from dead works,” which is only attributed to Christ’s sacrifice, Heb. ix. 13, 14. But it may be demanded, if this was the only effect of them, and there was no remission of immoralities by them, or sins against the law of nature, but only transgressions of positive precepts, that a positive punishment, or temporal inconvenience, should not be inflicted on them, how were the worthies of the Old Testament exempt and purified from their sins ? Just as we are in the efficacy of Christ’s sacrifice, which was to be offered for the sins of the world, and which was then offered, both in the intention of the Son, and the acceptation of the Father ; they were exempt from all the consequences of sin, in the means on their side of a true repen-

tance and faith in this sacrifice: and the whole pardon did belong to these dispositions in their minds, as we may observe from the people of the Jews, who, although they sacrificed in the greatest abundance, yet had their sins still charged upon them, enjoying no other advantage therefrom, but only the esteem of a legal purity, and the liberty of their temple-service, and free commerce with one another, which else they would have been debarred of. And whensoever God promised remission of sins, it was to these qualifications of faith and repentance, and not to the material thing of offering a sacrifice, which nevertheless might reprove them from some temporal judgment in the Divine designation, as it related to the oblation of Christ. Neither were these sacrifices vainly instituted, according to Bellarmine, though remission of sins was not purchased by them, because they were express representations of the sacrifice of Christ, and did excellently instruct the pious people of those times, in the notion and faith of him. So that the sacrifices under the law, as they were only typical things, both of the sacrifice of Christ and the compensation thereof to the Divine justice for the offence of our sins, and were neither compensations themselves, nor had any remission belonging to them, except only in a civil regard of legal impurities, they cannot be proofs of this doctrine of satisfactions, if there were any reference between them.

The argument founded upon merits, that because we can deserve eternal life, we can therefore satisfy for some part of the punishment of our sins, which is less than the other, being only one false doctrine for the ground-work of another, I shall not need to enlarge upon, only observe, how harmoniously to the Roman assertion let them consider, that eternal life is styled in Scripture the gift of God, Rom. vi. 23; and ascribed to the mercy of the Lord in the day of judgment, 2 Tim. i. 18; and when it is called a reward, as Matth. xx., call the labourers and give them their reward: and when it is expressed a crown of justice, 2 Tim. iv.; that reward must be explained of the Divine goodness, which proposes such an ample return to our imperfect labours, so much above the equivalency of them in a commutative way; and that justice must be referred to the promise of God, by which he is obliged to perform his word, that had no other reason but his own bounty, and infinite goodness.

Thus I have endeavoured to lay down the true sense of those texts of Scripture which the Romanists bring for their satis-

factious ; which all results into this general doctrine, that the favour of God is always obtained, and his judgments diverted in the exercise of a true repentance : this is that which stops the vials of God's wrath towards any people, not a compensation to Divine justice, which is impossible for any creature and is only the purchase of Christ's blood, but a true change and conversion in themselves. A most compassionate and merciful Father, after the more gentle methods of precepts and doctrines, and secret workings in our spirits, often inflicts sore chastisements upon us to excite us by a kind of violence to a reformation by that means ; and when he has disciplined us into this habit, and advanced a Christian disposition in us, he then removes those scourges from us, which have now accomplished their design, and purged away that vicious matter that was the cause and occasion of them. So that these temporal punishments, or afflictions, are taken off, not after the manner of satisfaction, but by way of disposition, or change of temper in ourselves.

And as to works of penance, which are either means of repentance, or effects and signs of it, seeing they may be such great advantages to the repressing of our sensual appetites, and affording us a more easy conquest of ourselves, there can be no objection to them, whether they be voluntarily undertaken, or by the authority of a Gospel minister, who has the care of souls committed to him, if they be not such as are repugnant to the true service and worship of God, or having no foundation in his holy word, but only being the commandments of men, would make a will-worship in the observers of them ; and if they be not magisterially enjoined, without a due prudence or relation to the exigency they are designed for. Those three instances must needs be admitted, if they be discreetly applied, prayer, fasting, and alms, as being of great efficacy to the promoting of a Christian temper in our spirits. Fasting will bring us into the government of our bodies, that our virtues will be more attainable by us ; and giving of alms in the more repeated exercise thereof, when we more converse with the joys and thanks of relieved people, will advance us to a disposition of charity and Christian affections in our souls : and prayer not only procures a more liberal assistance of grace with us, but in the more frequent practice of that duty, raises our spirits above sensuality, and the world, and begets an heavenly-mindedness in us. But then some of these cannot be works of satisfaction, which are defined laborious works, being the most joyous employments we are capable of ; what can be

a more pleasurable action than conversing with God, in prayers and praises, and thanksgivings to him, or in frequent study and contemplations on his word? And what can afford us a more comfortable reflection than to redress the miseries of our indigent brethren, and help them to some share of the enjoyments of this life? That person to whom these performances are irksome and grievous, is not only not to be reckoned as a Christian, but to have lost the proper instinct of a man, through some ill courses or behaviour. And even fasting itself, and those other austerities in our apparel, being clothed with sackcloth and the like, so often mentioned in Scripture, have a spiritual comfort and joy in them, as being either the means of a sincere repentance, or the effects of it, though they be so ungrateful to the body. But, however, they are no satisfactions for any part of the penalty of sin, but only advantages to repent of it, and remove the judgments that belong to it, as we attain in the use of them to a more virtuous habit and disposition in our natures.

And now having shewn, against the doctrine of satisfactions, that there is no proof of it in Scripture, *viz.* That men can compensate by any afflictions, or voluntary penances for any part of the punishment of their sins, which is an unreasonable assertion, in respect of mere men, as well as derogatory to the redemption of our blessed Saviour; it manifestly follows, that none can satisfy for the penalties of other people, or acquit or release them, which must be done by an overplus of satisfactions, or a performance of more than is requisite upon their account. Yet seeing the Romanists do maintain this unreasonable thing, that men may exceed in their satisfactions, and so found a treasure of the Church, as they call it, which the governors thereof, especially our holy Father the Pope (to speak in their phrase), have the power to apply as they please: I shall also consider those texts of Scripture which they produce for these redundancies, with as much brevity as may be.

And the first is Col. i. 24, where the Apostle says, "I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the Church." Bellarmine complains upon this place of Chemnitius, and other Protestants, for affirming of the Catholic writers (as the Roman party style themselves), as if it were a doctrine of theirs; that there was something wanting to the absolute fulness of Christ's satisfaction, which he calls an impudent lie, and declares that none of their

writers can be alleged for it, they all maintaining in a great agreement, the satisfaction of Christ to have been of infinite value, and a full atonement, not only for the sins of one world, but of millions more, if there had been so many, and that all manner of sin, and all kinds of punishment are expiated by it; that which they assert being only this, that the sufferings of the saints may be an accession to the treasure of satisfactions in the Church, but are not requisite to supply any defect in Christ's passion. And they were to be thanked for this justice to our Saviour, if their practice did not contradict it; for if they believe this ample sufficiency, nay, this redundancy of Christ's satisfaction, why do they then join others to it; and why do they persuade their unhappy penitents to fly to these, and dispense their pardons and indulgences from them? But however, seeing he speaks of a general agreement, let us hear how some of them express themselves in this matter, which can only be a reasonable foundation of their practice. Thus a certain author* comments upon the place, "The Apostle openly declares that his sufferings in the flesh did profit the Church, and supplied the deficiency of Christ's passion, or that which that had left in it, not that the sufferings of Paul were more efficacious than those of Christ, but that Christ removed the guilt of sin by his passion, and Paul, with other just persons, in their sufferings for his body, or the Church, have accomplished the remainder." I suppose he means that which was to be a stock for indulgences, and the discharge of temporal punishment. Now what can be more plainly spoken, as to the effect of Christ's sufferings, and that a sufficiency, in all respects, is made up from the saints, which is the sense of their other authors, only expressed with more decency, that indeed, through an influence of Divine grace, in the purchase of Christ, we can satisfy for the temporal pains of our sins, and that we may do more than is requisite for ourselves upon that account. Now this being such a repugnancy to the Apostle, in abundance of other places, cannot be his meaning in this, that he should join anything else as a completion to the atonement and satisfaction of Christ's sufferings, or suppose a want in them. His doctrine is this, there being two sorts of the sufferings of Christ expressed in Scripture, one personal which he submitted to on the cross, for the redemption of his Church, and which was there completed; others, which he still sustains in his faithful members, whom

* Polygran. in assertione quor. Eccles. dogmatum.

he has a sympathy and fellow-feeling with, and which he shall always be concerned in, to the end of the world: I say, there being these two sorts of Christ's sufferings, the doctrine of the Apostle, in this place, is in relation to the latter of them, that he most willingly did engage in his share of the afflictions of faithful people for the benefit of the Church, to confirm them in their Christian habits of faith, and patience, and resignation to God by his example. And that these afflictions being sustained by the members of Christ, and for his name, are reckoned to him, is very evident, not only from the sentence of the last² day upon uncharitable people, "I was an hungry, and I was thirsty, and I was in prison, and ye ministered not unto me;" but from many other places. Thus our Saviour spoke from heaven, when our Apostle was a persecutor of the Christians, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Act ix. 4. And so it is said concerning Moses, that "he esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." And the Apostle likewise, after his account of the kinds of their afflictions, 2 Cor. iv. 10: "We bear in our body the mortification or sufferings of the Lord Jesus." And again, 2 Cor. i. 5: "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us." And that his afflictions were a singular advantage and edification to the Church, he himself tells us more than once, Phil. i. 12, 13, 14: "I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the Gospel: so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." And so again, 2 Cor. i. 6: "Whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer; or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation." Where the Apostle plainly informs us of the effect of his afflictions, that it was not to exempt his pious brethren from such like chastisements in their own persons (which is the account of satisfaction), but to encourage them thereto, and inspire them with more resolution under all the hardships of a Christian life, by the example of his constancy, which well explains the end of his afflictions in this place to the Colossians, that they were for the edification of the Church in some of the virtues of their heavenly profession, whether faith or perseverance, or any other proper product of such a circumstance; and both the expressions will admit of

this sense. And very many of the Roman writers are content with it, which Bellarmine himself does allow to be natural enough for one acceptance of the place: and if so, if it may be expounded another way, then these satisfactions for other people are no necessary inference or deduction from it. And it is very observable, that where he asserts his own sense, he only does it upon a supposal of the thing in controversy, that because the Apostle was willing to promote their advantage in all the respects that he was able, as one must conceive of the author of that sentence, "I would gladly be spent for you," therefore he communicated his sufferings to the expiation of the temporal guilt, or penalty of their sins. But might not one as well conclude concerning merit, that because he was desirous to be beneficial to them in every thing that he could, therefore he merited eternal happiness and glory for them? Ought it not to have been proved first of all, that he could do either of these, or that he could profit them in other instances, than only by confirming and building them up in their holy faith, which we allow, and no more? By this kind of argument, one might maintain the most extravagant things, and assure one's self of all those advantages that the charity or Christian affection of any person would be willing to procure for him, whether they be possible and expedient or no. This, therefore, cannot be understood as a proof of satisfactions for other people, but only imports thus much, that the Apostle was very joyful to endure the hardest things, and accomplish his proportion of those afflictions that successively are to be undergone by the company of faithful people, or members of Christ to the end of the world; he was glad to endure these, for the spiritual advantage and edification that might redound therefrom to the Church. To which is parallel, and to be explained in the same manner, that other place of our Apostle, 2 Tim. ii. 10: "Therefore I endure all thing for the elect's sakes, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory :" and also 2 Cor. xii. 15, "I will very gladly spend and be spent for you," *viz.* that he would cheerfully part with all that he had for the procurement of their salvation.

Another place is Ephes. v. 1, 2: "Be ye followers of God, as dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and given himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour." Thus one of them comments upon this place, that as Christ being the head of his mystical body,

in the effect of his ardent charity, offered up himself for his members ; so ought every member upon any needful or important occasion, even to sacrifice itself for its fellow member. And what if we should yield all this to be contained in our Christian charity, that after the example of our Saviour, we should be disposed even to die for the procurement of some greater advantage to our brethren, which is no more than the doctrine of the Apostle, 1 John iii. 16, “Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us : and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren :” does it therefore follow, that it can only be by way of satisfaction for the penalties of their sins, and upon no account of their moral good, or proficiency in a Christian life ? But then, if the parallel should be exactly insisted on, according to their interpretation, seeing Christ satisfied by his death, for the whole guilt and demerit of sin, it must then be allowed, that in our death for our brethren, we also satisfy in the same latitude, not only for the temporal punishment of sin, but the eternal guilt and penalty of it, which is a repugnancy to their own doctrine. For the instance of our Saviour, cannot universally be proposed to our imitation, who was God as well as man, and in the exercise of his divinity, did perform abundance of things ; but only he is proposed to us in the actions of his human nature, the admirable sanctity, and moral perfections which he exemplified in his whole behaviour. But, however, although we are obliged to lay down our lives for the brethren in some signal instance of their advantage, yet this is not the scope or doctrine of the place, but only the sincerity of our Christian affections to one another, that as Christ by his voluntary oblation and sacrifice of himself for our sins, did afford the highest example of an intense charity ; so we should be hearty and unfeigned in our respects to our fellow Christians, “love as brethren, be pitiful and courteous :” and thus the writers of the Church of Rome do generally explain it.

Another place for these vicarious satisfactions, that the effect of any one’s sufferings can redound to others, is Gal. vi. 2 : “Bear ye one another’s burdens :” which, that it relates to that particular sort of charity, that consists in a candid interpretation of one another’s actions, and not censuring them in the hardest sense or construction of them, is very manifest from the context, both before and after ; that we set up a tribunal of equity for one another, and make all the condescensions that we fairly can, as to any misbehaviour any person

has been guilty of, his circumstance might have rendered him more liable to, or the natural habit of his own body, and we are not secure from the like instance ourselves. The paraphrase of the place then may be this, that we ought, with a great deal of patience, to bear the faults of other people, to be candid and favourable in our censures of them, and not to use severity upon them ; which expression of a due charity (not to mention how apt it is to induce one to repentance, when the contrary method would exasperate and harden) is the accomplishing of the law, and will obtain the most lenity to ourselves, if we should happen, according to the liableness of human nature, to be overcome by any temptation. This is the true exposition of the place, as it lies with the context, and how much it relates to satisfactions one for another, let any one judge.

Another argument is drawn from the communion of the saints. We are taught (says Bellarmine) in this article,* “that all faithful people are mutually members, and one living body : and as living members do assist one another, so the faithful, in like manner, do communicate their good things among themselves, especially those which being superfluous to one, may be necessary or profitable to others.” But the communion of saints does only require a mutual sympathy and resentment among them, or a kind of partnership both in grief and joy, and all the accommodations of this life, when the afflicted circumstance of any of our brethren stands in need thereof, that they should all be affected just as any of them are, and make their possessions a common treasure, or store for them ; and that they should likewise communicate as much as they are able, their spiritual good things, their knowledge, and counsels, and Christian admonitions to a holy life ; but that they should transmit their proper actions to one another, is inconceivable, and against the logic of all men, as that the effects of an undoubted faith, the constancy and fortitude of the blessed Apostles should be reckoned to any other person as their own virtues. And this they confess in respect of merit, that that is a thing which cannot be communicated ; and how an instance of suffering should be more, being both alike personal performances, I cannot perceive. Indeed the fruits of our example, or good works, have a common influence and nature, as they are ornaments of the same body,

* Indulg. lib. 1. cap. 3.

and excite every member to the like behaviour, and Christian morals ; but the actions themselves are appropriate to the subject, and incommunicable ; and Bellarmine's argument, when he asserts, and maintains the contrary, is only begging of the question. "The saints," says he, "do communicate their good things to one another :" so say we too, all the good things that they have, but satisfactions are denied by us Protestants to belong to them, as being only the prerogative of Christ's sufferings, who was God and man in the same person, and therefore these should first have been proved in respect of the highest saints, that an overplus of sufferings, above the merit of their own sins, is possible to them, and not supposed it as a certain principle. But it may be, he thought he had done this before in some other place of his many volumes, which is as hard a task, as any novel or upstart doctrine of the whole Popery.

Now upon this head of the communion of saints, they bring two places more ; the first is, 2 Cor. viii. 14 : "But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality." Now the Romanists so interpret this place, as if the Corinthians, in return of their liberality to the indigent Jews, were to receive such a supply of prayers and satisfactions from those Jews, as was wanting in themselves ; that is, spiritual things for carnal, according to the Apostle, Rom. xv. 27, "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things." From hence they conclude such a communion in the Church, that one may transfer his acquirements to another, and not only temporal things, but spiritual. "From this," says Bellarmine, "it plainly follows, that one may satisfy for another, and that the sufferings of some, may be applied to other people." But this is a violent and forced usage of the place ; here is nothing to carry one's thoughts to this commutation of a different kind, or recompence of spiritual for temporal, but they are plainly temporal on both sides. The meaning of the Apostle is apparently this (there being no certainty of these worldly possessions, which make themselves wings and fly away, but he that is now furnished with abundance of them, and so enabled to relieve others, may shortly be reduced to so much indigence, as to stand in need of charity himself, and so on the contrary), that the Corinthians abounding *ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ*,

in this present time, should administer to the Jews, who were then wanting, that in case there should happen a change of circumstance ; and they both placed in opposite fortunes, the Jews might again assist the Corinthians, not only from the obligation of Christian charity, but common justice. Commentators refer this to a famine in Judea, which might quickly be over, and so they in a condition of giving alms, and not receiving. And now, if there be this interchangeable charity, or mutual beneficence among Christians, what does that concern satisfaction ? Or how does it follow, that some pious people should compensate in the measure of their sufferings for the penalty of others' sins ? which is their inference from the place. And that place to the Romans xv. 27, is no advantage to this argument, "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things." The recompense here is expressly in carnal things, and to be applied not to the benefits of satisfactions, but to the doctrines of salvation, and the inestimable treasure of the Word of life, which the Gentiles first received from the preaching of the Jews, and which well deserved such a return as this. But then suppose that the place should be meant of a retribution of spiritual things, which they wanted for those temporal things wherein they abounded, yet why should these be satisfactions ? Are there no other spiritual bounties, which a pious and grateful soul can remunerate a secular kindness, or beneficence withal ? Have prayers no value or effect in them ? Are holy instructions, or improvements in the sacred science of the Scriptures of truth, and examples of virtue copied therefrom, of no benefit to any person, so that they may recompense a small contribution of the good things of this world ? Those that understand this place with Bellarmine, of spiritual returns for temporal things, do define these returns by prayers and suffrages for their alms-givers, or benefactors, of whom a certain author sets down a long catalogue.

Another place which they bring from this article of the communion of saints, for the establishment of satisfactions one for another, is Psal. exix. 63. The argument whereof only depends upon the Latin version, "*Particeps ego sum omnium timentium te* ; I am a partaker with all those that fear thee ;" but the Hebrew word is **חֲבָר**, which we better render in our English Bible a companion, "I am a companion of all that fear thee." Which only argues the prophet's converse to

have been with pious men, and proves him also to have been such at the same time. But what if we should allow their Latin version, are not there many effects and offices of charity, which all good people participate in, a mutual resentment of one another's circumstances, and most hearty applications and assistances under them, and prayers to God to accomplish that in their behalf, which lies beyond their proper powers to perform for them? And will not these instances sufficiently explain the communion of faithful people, which are all set forth in the revelations of God's word? But must we needs run to the unscriptural thing of satisfactions for the full importance and definition of it? This is adding to the oracles of God, and the stating of things we find there; what the consequence thereof is, let them consider who do so.

Another place is 2 Cor. ii. which they form into this argument: "The Apostle mitigated the penalty due to the incestuous person, whom he had excommunicated for that grievous crime, upon the entreaty and intercession of the Corinthians." Ver. 10. "To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ." Now from hence they conclude, "that we may be delivered from the penalties that belong to our sins by the sufferings of other good people, as these are applicable to our account." But first of all, supposing prayer to be a laborious work, as they define satisfaction, which being the transport of our souls to heaven, cannot come under that notion; here is no mention of the Corinthian's prayers in this matter: indeed he remitted this public censure, or shortened the time of it, for their sakes, or for their advantage, that perhaps they might not grow proud of themselves, or contract a hardened and uncompassionate temper towards any brother by that means, but it no ways appears that he did this at their request. And besides, if they had addressed him in this behalf, it could not have been reckoned as a satisfaction, which was thus offered to the Apostle, and not to God, against whom the injury of sin especially redounds, and to whom a compensation is chiefly to be rendered. But however that this was a discipline of the Church, to lead this person, and all the members of that communion to a true reformation and holiness of life, and not a satisfaction upon him, or to be performed by any other person upon his account, which has no respect to a future amendment, is very evident, that as soon as it had this effect upon him, it

was then relaxed, and he exempt and delivered from it; ver. 6, 7, 8, "Sufficient to such a man is this punishment," &c.

And that last argument of theirs, that God vouchsafed to some for the good works and merits of others; as, for the piety of Abraham, he spared Lot; and for the uprightness of holy David, almost all the kings of Judah after him, who were abundance of them very ill men; and several times, at the instance of Moses, he retrieved the whole people from sudden ruin. And therefore this regard to virtuous men, being allowed in the dispensation of his benefits, which is evident from the Scriptures, why should it not be admitted into the pardon of temporal punishment? And it is certain that God has signified this regard to pious men, by more examples than these, and not only in the collation of advantages or benefits, but in the remission of punishment too; but then this was not done in the purchase of their merits, which none can possibly arrive at, nor by way of commutation, or one satisfying for another, which none could ever do upon his own account, but it wholly proceeded from the immense goodness and infinite affection of the Divine nature to mankind, which takes hold of any occasion of their benefit, or free exertion of itself towards them.

Thus I have done with those texts of Scripture, that either Bellarmine, or any other of his communion, that I know of, produce for satisfactions, whether they be such as are performed by any person for himself, or being a redundancy on that account, are applied to other people; and I hope, sufficiently made it manifest, that they bear another sense than what these authors have put upon them.

I shall now, in the last place, with as much brevity as may be, shew the original of these satisfactions, how they began, and were established in the Church. In order to which, we must first observe the ancient discipline of the Church, that those who were guilty of any notorious, or greater offences, were always removed from the communion of it, and were to undergo a long exclusion, and state of penance, before they were admitted into it again, which might be a proper means of a true repentance in themselves, and both a testification thereof, and a determent to other people from the like mis-carriages, (as I observed before). The time of this exclusion was often long, according to the nature of the offences. The great St. Basil, in his Canons of Ecclesiastical Censures, prescribes a penance of fifteen years to those that had been guilty

of the sin of adultery, before they were to be admitted into the communion of faithful people, as to all the advantages thereof, both of prayer, and the holy eucharist: and those who had committed the less instance of that sin, with an unmarried person, which is styled fornication, were not ordinarily to partake of these advantages, till after a penance of seven years: and so other sins, as they were esteemed of a higher nature, or were more influential upon other people, from the quality of the persons acting them, had a proportionable penance assigned to them, which was always longer and more severe, when it was subjected in any of the orders of the priestly function, than when it related to lay people, as we might produce many canons to this purpose, concerning drunkenness and the like; nay, those things that were always reckoned inoffensive, and no matter of censure at all in lay-people, when admitted by a clergyman, were adjudged to great penalties, as to play at dice, or enter the theatre, and public spectacle, with the like; the pious Fathers of the primitive times being of opinion, that these were indecencies to the holy character, and not consistent with the sacredness of it; or which, being allowed in such persons, would be too much an occasion to those vices that are commonly the effects of such liberties.

Now these penances, as they were allowed to none, or none were capable of the benefit of them, but those who were disposed for the grace of repentance to relinquish their evil courses,* and no longer persist in them; so they were accomplished by several steps, or gradual advances, above one another.

The first was called the station of weeping ($\tauὴν πρόσκλαυσιν$), without the port of the holy oratory, where the sinners were obliged to stand, not being permitted to enter therein, and entreat the prayers of the happy partakers of that privilege, which they often did with floods of tears, in a just resentment of their offences.

The second step was the place of hearing within the port, and which extended to the station of the catechumens, whether they were those, who being willing to become Christians from a Pagan state, did only apply for a due information in the faith and morals of that heavenly profession; or those other that being arrived at a competent notion and knowledge thereof, did desire, and had a right to the sacrament of baptism: and

* Can. ad Amphil. 75.

here the penitents were used to stand, only partaking of the word preached, and then departing with the catechumens, not being allowed to join with the faithful in the church liturgy, or common prayer.

The third was the place of subjection or substration (*ὑπόπτωσις*), to which were appropriated the penitentiary acts, as it is rendered by translators who were very skilful in this discipline, *pœnitentia*, and the verb *ὑποπτεῖν*, *pœnitere*. The Areopagite explains this of a kneeling down, by which the penitents submitted themselves to the presbyter, who was appointed to have the charge over them,* without all question for a relaxation of their penance, that they might sooner come into all the benefits of church communion. But it is more probable, that the acts of homage were performed to God, and were the effects of a true contrition. Now these penitents of this station, were further promoted in the temple, but only participating of the exposition, or preaching of the word, departed also with the catechumens, when the Church began their solemn devotions.

The fourth station was, as it were, still a farther advancement in the oratory, where these penitents were conjoined with the assembly of the faithful, and employed in prayer with them, though they were not admitted to the holy table, or the communion of Christ's body, and the most effectual means of applying the saving benefits of his passion to us, which was to be at the discretion of the minister, when he conceived that in the degree of their repentance they were qualified for it. And this is the sense of that frequent expression, that the penitents of this order were received into church communion, *χωρὶς προσφορᾶς* (*κοινωνεῖν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς*) that they had the privilege of common prayer with those faithful people who were not under any church censure, but were not admitted to a participation of the sacrament with them. For whether this oblation relate to the blessed sacrament itself, according to the opinion of Zonaras and Balsamon in many places; or to those gifts that were usually offered upon the holy table by every communicant, at the time of receiving, it still carries the same sense, seeing those that were restrained from the concomitants of the holy eucharist, cannot be supposed to have enjoyed the free use and benefit thereof.

For the further illustration of these several degrees, or

* Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 5. [p. 237. Venet. 1755.]

stations of penance, I shall translate two canons of St. Basil, which will both confirm the former account I have given of them, and also render that more obvious. The first is the 75th of the first epistle to Amphilochius. “If any have defiled himself with his half-sister, either by the father or mother’s side, permit him not entrance into the house of prayer, till he refrain from that abominable practice, and after he has come to a due apprehension of his fearful sin, let him lament three whole years at the door of the sanctuary, entreating the devotions of them that enter, that in an earnest and Christian compassion, they would every one supplicate the Lord for him. After this, let him be received to the station of hearing for three other years; and in the solemnities of the Church, when he has heard the heavenly instructions, and doctrines of the Gospel, then dismiss him, as being unworthy to be a partner in their devotions. And afterwards, if he request these with tears, and weeping, and address to God in a due contrition and humbleness of spirit, afford him the station of subjection for other three years. And when he has shewn the proper fruits of a hearty repentance, let him be admitted to the prayers of the faithful, without the privilege of an oblation; and then consorting two years with them in their holy devotions, let him approach to the Lord’s table, and a free participation of the benefits thereof.”

The other canon is the 81st. “Seeing many upon the incursion of barbarous people, have shamefully violated their Christian faith, either by adhering to magical rites, or partaking in the heathen sacrifice, or swearing by their gods, whether idols, sun, or stars, or the like, let their discipline be according to the canons of the ancient Fathers. Those that offer themselves to the Gentile cruelty, and being overcome by the unmerciful usage and torments thereof, such as almost make a necessity in human nature, to yield under them, and so are drawn to an abnegation, let them be excluded three years in the place of weeping, and then only admitted to the hearing of the Scriptures for two more, and let them be three years in the station of subjection, or in the special acts and exercise of repentance, such as may most demonstrate the sincerity thereof, and then received to the communion of the faithful, as to their devotions and public prayers. But those that have betrayed their Christian faith, without this violence or impression upon them, in more freedom of their depraved will, let them be removed from any common act with faithful

people three years, and be in the state of hearing for two, or only have the benefit of the word preached, and in the place of subjection for three more ; and then being conjoined with the assembly of the faithful, as to the exercise of their common devotions for three years, let them then come to the communion of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body." Where we may observe, to reconcile this canon with the seventy-third, that this holy Father was of opinion, that a sacrificing to demons in the heathen notion of them, as supposing them to be middle deities, and to have some share in the government of the world, which, perhaps, in those less removes from a state of Paganism, might consist with some imperfect acknowledgment and faith of Christ, that he was a superior mediator to them ; I say, this Father was of this opinion, it may be upon these reasons, that a sacrificing to demons, was less in the balance of sins, than an absolute denial or renouncing of Christ, and therefore to this he prescribes a perpetual weeping and exclusion, from the higher benefits of Christian assemblies, their common devotions, and holy eucharist, which he does not allow, but at the hour of death, to such persons, when he thinks upon belief of the mercy of God, it may be administered and afforded to them ; whereas the penance to the other was only for a certain time.

And these penances were not so necessary, either as to the measure or continuance of them, but either the bishop, or some presbyter authorised by him, could relax them, and contract the time of them, which they often did upon the evidence of a true repentance, when these had obtained their just efficacy upon any person ; for in regard to this they had a discretionary power assigned to them in several Councils, which is also contained in the authority of a bishop, either to remit some part of the penance, or even dispense with one station of it, as the repentance was more demonstrable by the consequent fruits of holiness and virtue redounding therefrom.* And it was likewise very usual in the approaches of persecution, as well as in case of extreme sickness, to receive the penitents into the peace of the Church, though they had not accomplished their course of discipline, and afford them the blessed eucharist, and confirm them against their sufferings, by the extraordinary graces of that sacrament. And these remissions only related to canonical censures, and not a judicial punishment of sin, to

* Concil. Ancyran. 5, &c.

which purpose they are now applied by a sort of Christians, who style themselves Catholics, though directly contrary both in this and many things else, to the sense of the first Fathers.

Now these penances, or church-discipline, as they are proper to subdue the sensual affections, both by rebating the cause of them in our natures, and advancing a more cautious habit in our spirits against new lapses, or compliance with them, when we must suffer such severities upon that account ; and are also effectual to preserve other people from such enormities, upon the same reflection that these must be expiated in a long scene of shame and sufferings ; which circumstance of shame, in respect of many tempers, is the strongest inducement to renounce or forsake anything : I say, as these penances are expedient to these purposes, as I observed before, so likewise they are absolutely necessary, in regard of abundance of people, who would perfectly resign themselves up to their own sensual appetites, and wholly live according to that stronger principle of human nature, unless they were restrained by this means, which restraint or violence upon them, at the first, may afterwards grow, through custom, into a voluntary behaviour, and free exercise of their Christian virtues. Although all people sufficiently know the moral law, as to the principal duties of it, that being written upon their minds, as well as revealed in ten precepts ; and there is no difficulty concerning this, but only as it falls in more intricate circumstances sometimes, which are called cases of conscience, and which, by the art of some men, are made more and more intricate too, than ever can happen in human life ; yet neither the reasonableness of their known duty, according to the temper and faculties of man, nor the threats of eternal misery to the neglect of it in the other world, being in such a distance, can preserve them in the practice thereof. And therefore there were always censures in the Church upon this advantage, or necessity of them, which were first established by our Lord himself, Matth. xviii. 17. And often practised by the Apostles in an extraordinary manner, so as to be attended with bodily torments, that men, by this means, might be forcibly kept from sin, through a present shame and punishment upon it, who would be less wrought withal in a long prospect of eternal ruin, and that they might be thus accustomed to the material exercise, or action of virtue, which at last would become a habit in them, and the result of their own choice. And I doubt not but these censures so carefully practised in the primitive Church,

recovered thousands to a strict observance of their Christian duty, and a temper of virtue in their spirits, who would otherwise have continued loose persons through their whole lifetime. Such an advantage would the restoring of primitive discipline be in our Church, as it would reduce us to a more Christian state, and remove that libertinism and dissolute living that is among us.

Now these penances being so beneficial as they were, and such an advantage to a Gospel-holiness, began to have too high expressions bestowed upon them by several of the Fathers, that they could atone or satisfy for sin ; appease the Lord, and appease the Judge ; and that both the offence and penalty thereof could be redeemed and expiated by them :* though they meant no more than that they were an occasion to free creatures to forsake sin, and arrive at such a disposition of virtue and religion, as must needs be acceptable to God, and had no foundation of punishment in it ; and therefore to derive these benefits to such people as were under the power of their evil habits, they often recommended this pious discipline above the proper efficacy of it, which does not consist in the bare action, as though that had any merit belonging to it, but in its influence upon the mind, as it tends to the reformation of that principle, and the acquiring of a better frame and disposition in it. But, however, such expressions as these are the only ground that the Romanists have from primitive times for their satisfactions, which they so contradict in their doctrines about them. The Fathers well understood these penances only to be medicines of a vicious nature, and an external satisfaction, if any one please, to the Church to repair the scandal of some wicked action, which was their whole notion in the matter, as is evident from their indulgences, which were only remissions of some part of these penances, when they concluded, that they had wrought a true repentance, and performed the cure they were sent upon ; but they never applied these to the punishment of sin, as if they could discharge a certain proportion or share thereof, that is, the temporal penalty that belongs to it. This is a novel doctrine of the Catholics now-a-days, that is only denominated from one city or archbishopric ; but was not known in the truly ancient and apostolic Church, which was dispersed over all the world, and maintained a perfect harmony in every part. And as these Satisfactions did but start up in

* Chem. Exam. p. 2. p. 205.
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some late centuries ; so it is likely they were never so explicitly treated of, till the thirteenth, in which the subtle doctor lived, who expressly makes them expiations for past sins,* and, if possible, is more subtle about them than other things.

Thus we see how this only true and infallible Church is changed from the primitive faith, and the doctrines of the first Fathers. I wish we may preserve ourselves from it in such particulars as these, and in the spirit of meekness, communicate with one, who acknowledging herself liable to be mistaken, yet is well assured, that she is established as to all her doctrines, and usage or discipline, upon the Scriptures, and the concurrent sense of the first Fathers, who, as they were nearer the blessed Apostles, or contemporary with them, by which they could better understand their institutions ; so being such self-denying persons as they were, are better authors of any doctrine, and more to be trusted or relied upon, than a company of merchants in religion, or those that betray designs of profit in all their sanctions, which they having been so successful in, and having laid such a platform of secular greatness, and such a power of indulgences or pardon of sins, without the trouble of contrition for them, makes the only inducement (that I know) to become proselytes to that Church, which is so little apostolic for those reasons.

* Suppl. 3. Part. Quæst. 14. Art. 1.

BOOK IV.

THE POPISH METHODS FOR THE PARDON OF SIN,
GROUNLESS; UPON THE HEAD OF INDULGENCES.

A TREATISE AGAINST INDULGENCES :

BEING

PART OF A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE IDOLATRY PRACTISED IN THE CHURCH OF ROME, WRITTEN BY DOCTOR STILLINGFLEET, AGAINST THE PERSON WHO DEFENDED THEM.

I NOW come to the gross abuse of the people, in Pardons and Indulgences;* by which I said the sincerity of devotion was much obstructed among them: he tells me, as an eye-witness, "that there is a great devotion caused by them, in Catholic countries; there being no indulgence ordinarily granted, but enjoins him that will avail himself of it, to confess his sins, to receive the sacraments, to pray, fast and give alms; all which duties are with great devotion," he saith, "performed by Catholic people, which without the incitement of an indulgence, had possibly been left undone." I will not be so troublesome to inquire, what sincerity of devotion that was he was an eye-witness of, which was caused by indulgences; nor what sort of persons they were, who were thus devout at receiving them. I think it will be sufficient for my purpose to prove, that no persons in the world, who understand what indulgences mean in the Church of Rome, can be excited to any devotion by them; but that, on the contrary, they tend exceedingly to the obstructing of it: which I shall do by shewing, that either they are great and notorious cheats, if that be not meant by them which is expressed in them; or if it be, that nothing could be invented that tends more to obstructing their own way of devotion, than these do. 1. That they are great and

* Of Indulgences.

notorious cheats, if that be not meant by them which is expressed in them. For which we are to understand first, what hath been expressed in their indulgences. 2. What opinion those of their own Church have had concerning them.

1. What hath been expressed in their indulgences ;* the eldest indulgences we meet with, are those which are made by the Popes, to such who undertook their quarrels against their enemies ; and the first of this kind I can meet with is, that of Anselm, bishop of Lucca, legate of Gregory VII., which he gave to those of his party, who would fight against the Emperor Henry IV., which Baronius† relates from his Penitentiary ; in which was promised remission of all their sins, to such who would venture their lives in that holy war. And Gregorius VII.‡ himself, in an epistle to the monks of Marseilles, who stuck close to him, promised an indulgence of all their sins, was granted to those who would fight against the Saracens in Africa by Victor,§ who succeeded Gregorius VII. After him followed Urban II. who granted an indulgence to all who would go in the war to the Holy Land, of all their sins, and as Gul. Tyrius|| saith, “expressly mentioned those, which the Scripture saith do exclude from the kingdom of God, as murder, theft,” &c., and not only absolved them from all the penances they deserved by their sins ; but “bid them not doubt of an eternal reward after death,” as Malmsbury¶ saith ; the like is attested by Ordericus Vitalis, in whose younger days this expedition began : upon which, he saith, “all the thieves, pirates, and other rogues, came in great numbers, and listed themselves, having made confession of their sins ;” and if we believe St. Bernard,** “there were very few but such among them ; which he rejoiceth very much in :” and saith, “there was a double cause of joy in it, both that they left the countries where they were before, and now went upon such an enterprise, which would carry them to heaven.” This way of indulgences, being thus introduced, was made use of afterwards, upon the like occasions, by Calistus II. A.D. 1122, by Eugenius III. A.D. 1145, by Clem. III. A.D. 1195, and others

* The Practice of Indulgences.

† Baron. ad A.D. 1084. n. 15. [vol. 17. p. 556. col. 2. Luc. 1745.]

‡ Greg. 7. 1. 6. Ep. 15. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 10. p. 208. Lut. Par. 1671.] § Leo Casin. Hist. 1. 3. c. 71.

|| Gul. Tyrius 1. 1. Hist. Orient. [p. 20. Basil. 1549.]

¶ Will. Malm. 1. 4. c. 2. Order. Vitalis Hist. Eccles. ad A.D. 1095.

** Bernard. Exhort. ad milit. templi, c. 5.

after them, who all promised the same indulgences that Urban II. had given. And it is well observed by Morinus,* that these indulgences cannot be understood of a mere relaxation of canonical penances ; because such a remission of all sins is granted, upon which eternal life follows ; and therefore must respect God, and not barely the Church : and because absolution was to be given upon them, which, saith he, “according to the discipline then in the Church, ought not to be given, but till the canonical penance had been gone through, or at least the greatest part of it.” But therein he is very much mistaken,† when he saith, “that the Popes never granted these plenary indulgences, but only to encourage an expedition to the Holy Land :” for Gelasius II. A.D. 1118, granted the same to the Christian soldiers, at the siege of Saragoza, as appears by the bull itself, in Baronius.‡ Honorius II. in the quarrel he had with Roger of Sicily, gave the same to all, who having confessed their sins, should die in the war against him ; but if they chanced to escape with their lives, but half their sins were pardoned. Alexander III. gave to his friends at Ancona, who should visit the twelve churches, and their own cathedral, all Lent-fasting, as full an indulgence, as if they went to Jerusalem ; and besides this, every first Sunday in the month as great an indulgence (*i. e.* I suppose, for as many days) as a man could take up sands in both hands.§ This Baronius thinks a little too much : and therefore rejects it as fabulous, because the same Pope, in an indulgence given to the church of Ferrara, grants but a year of criminals, and a seventh part of venials ; but he doth not consider, that the case of Ancona was peculiar, because of the great friendship that city had shewn to the Pope in his distress : and this indulgence was transcribed from a very ancient manuscript, and better attested than many other things, which he never disputes. But if it be a cheat, let it pass for one ; and it is no great matter to me, whether it were a cheat of the Pope’s, or the church of Ancona.|| But he doth not at all question the indulgence granted by the same Pope, to those who would take up arms against the Albigenses, which to those who die in

* Morinus de Sacram. Poenit. l. 10. c 2. [c. 22.] [p. 775. col. 1. Antv. 1682.] † Cap. 23. [Ibid. p. 779. col. 1.]

‡ Baron. ad A.D. 1118. n. 31. [n. 18. ut supra, vol. 18. p. 310. col. 1.] Id. ad A.D. 1127. n. 5. [Ibid. p. 405. col. 1.] Id. ad A.D. 1177. n. 8 [n. 7.] [Ibid. vol. 19. p. 440. col. 1.]

§ Id. ad A.D. 177. n. 76

Ad A.D. 1779. n. 7.

that cause, is not only pardon of all their sins, but an eternal reward : but for such as refused to go, no less than excommunication is denounced against them. And Honorius III. in the same cause, granted an indulgence in the same terms, as to those who went to the Holy Land : and Gregorius IX. to all who should take his part against the Emperor Frederick II. which Bzovius* confesseth to be usual with the Popes to give, to those who would fight against Saracens, heretics, or any other enemies of theirs.

This practice of indulgence being once taken up, was found too beneficial to be ever let fall again ; and private bishops began to make great use of it, not in such manner as the Popes, but they were unwilling not to have as great a share as they could get in it ; thence they began to publish indulgences, to those who would give money towards the building or repairing churches, or other public works ; for this, they promised them a pardon of the seventh, or fourth, or third part of their sins, according as their bounty deserved. This was first begun by Gelasius II., for the building of the church of Saragoza, A.D. 1118, and was followed by other bishops ; insomuch that Morinus† is of opinion, that Marcius, bishop of Paris, built the great church of Nostredame there, in that manner ; and he saith, “ he can find no ground for this practice of indulgences before the twelfth century,” and answers Bellarmine’s arguments, for a greater antiquity of them, and proves all his testimonies, from Gregory’s Stations, Ludgerus’s Epistle, and Sergius’s Indulgence in the church of St. Martin at Rome, produced by Baronius,‡ to be mere impostures. But the Bishops of Rome, finding how beneficial these indulgences were, soon resolved to keep the keys of this treasury of the Church in their own hands, and therefore quickly abridged other bishops of this power ; and make great complaint, that by the indiscreet use of indulgences by the bishops, the keys of the Church were contemned and discipline lost ; so Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran, Can. 62, and therefore decrees, that in the dedication of a church, though where there were several bishops together, they should not grant an indulgence above a year, nor any single bishop above forty days. But we

* Bzov. ad A.D. 1219. p. 3. [Contin. of Baronius, vol. 13. p. 269. Colon. Agr. 1616.] Id. ad A.D. 1239. n. 8. [Ibid. p. 484.] Ad A.D. 1208. n. 5. [Ibid. p. 152.]

† Morinus Poenitent. l. 10. c. 20. [ut supra, p. 770.]

‡ Baron. ad A.D. 846.

are not to imagine, that the Popes ever intended to tie their own hands, by these Canons ; but they were too wise, to let others have the managing of so rich a stock, as that of the Church was ; which would bring in so great a harvest, from the sins of the people. Thence Boniface VIII. first instituted the year of Jubilee, A.D. 1300 ; and in his bull published for that end,* grants not only a plenary and larger, but most plenary remission of sins to them, that (if Romans for thirty, if strangers for fifteen days in that year), should visit the churches of the Apostles. This was brought afterwards by Clem. VI. to every fifty years ; and since to twenty-five, or as often as his Holiness pleases : but in all of them a most plenary remission of sins is granted. It were worth the while to understand the difference between a plenary larger, and most plenary indulgence : since Bellarmine† tells us, " that a plenary indulgence takes away all the punishment due to sin." But these were the fittest terms to let the people know, they should have as much for their money as was to be had, and what could they desire more ? And although Bellarmine abhors the name of selling indulgences, yet it comes all to one ; the Popes give indulgences, and they give money ; or they do it not by way of purchase, but by way of alms : but commend me to the plain honesty of Boniface IX., who being not satisfied with the oblations at Rome, sent abroad his jubilees to Colen, Magdeburgh, and other cities ; but always sent his collectors, to take his share of money that was gathered, and inserted in them that clause, *porrigentibus manus adjutrices*, which in plain English, is to those who would give money for them : without which no indulgence was to be had, as Gobelius Persona saith :‡ who likewise adds this remarkable passage, that the preachers of the indulgences told the people, to encourage them to deal for them, that they were not only *à paena* but *à culpâ* too, *i. e.* not merely from the temporal punishment of sin, but from the fault itself which deserved eternal ; this made the people look into them ; and not finding those terms, but only a most plenary remission, they were unsatisfied because they were told that the fault could be forgiven by God alone ; but if they could but once find that the Pope would

* Extravag. Commun. l. 5. tit. 9. c. 1. [Corp. Jur. Can. vol. 3. p. 349. Lugd. 1671.] Bzov. ad A.D. 1300. n. 1. [ut supra, vol. 14. p. 1.]

† Bell. de Indul. l. 1. c. 9. [vol. 3. p. 663. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

‡ Gobelius Persona Cosmogr. art. 6. [æt. 6.] c. 6. [p. 278. Francof. 1599.]

undertake to clear all scores with God for them, they did not doubt but they would be worth their money. Whereupon he saith, “ those very terms were put into them :” then the wiser men thought these were counterfeit, and made only by the pardon-mongers ; but upon further inquiry, they found it otherwise. How far this trade of indulgences was improved afterwards, in the time of Alexander VI. and Leo X. the Reformation which began upon occasion of them, will be a lasting monument ; which was the greatest good the world ever received by them.

But we are not to think, since indulgences* are such great kindnesses to the souls of men, that they should be only reserved for years of jubilee ; for what a hard case may they be in, who should chance to die but the year before ? Therefore the Popes (those tender Fathers of the Church) have granted very comfortable ones, to many particular places, and for the doing some good actions, that no one need be in any great perplexity for want of them. Other places, it is probable, a man may go to heaven from, as soon as from Rome, but there is none like that for escaping purgatory ; if a man confess his sins, and but stumble into one of the seven churches, it is a hard case if he doth not escape, at least for a thousand years. I need not reckon up what vast pardons are to be had there at easy rates, since they have been so kind at Rome, to publish a catalogue of them in several books ;† an extract out of which, is very lately set forth in our own language. Those who have gone about to compute them, have found that iudulgences for a million of years are to be had at Rome on no hard terms : Bellarmine would seem to deny these pardons for so many years, as far as he durst, as though they were not delivered by authentic writers ; but I desire no more than what Onuphrius‡ hath transcribed from the archives of the churches themselves ; and we may judge of the rest by what Cæsar Rasponi, a canon of the Lateran Church and a present cardinal, hath lately written of that one church, in a book dedicated to Alexander VII. He tells us therefore, “ there is so vast a bank of the treasure of the Church laid up there, that no one need go any further to get full pardon of

* Of Indulgences at Rome.

† Hen. Foulis Preface to the History of Romish Usurpations. Bell. de Indulg. l. 2. c. 20. [ut supra, vol. 3. p. 701. col. 2.]

‡ Onuphrius de 7. Urbis Ecclesiis. Cæsar Raspon. de Basilicâ Lateranensi, l. 2. c. 14. p. 204. [Rom. 1656.]

all his sins ; and that it is impossible for any one to reckon up the number of the benefits to be had there by it." In the feast of the dedication of that church, at the first throw, if a man be well confessed before, he gets, if he be a Roman, a pardon of a thousand years, if a Tuscan two thousand ; but if he comes from beyond sea, three thousand years ; this is well for the first time. The like lottery is again at that Church, on *Cœna Domini*. But Boniface IX. would never stand indenting with men for number of years, but declares, "if men will come either for devotion or pilgrimage," (no matter which) "they shall be clear from all sin :" and what would a man have more ? But besides this, there are other particular seasons of opening this treasury ; and then one can take out as much as they may wish for : as when the image of our Saviour is shewn, all that come thither "have their sins pardoned" infallibly : and many other days in the year; which the author punctually reckons up, and are so many, that a canon of that church may dispose of some thousands of years ; nay, plenary remissions, and yet escape purgatory at last himself. But besides what belongs to the church itself, there is a little oratory or chapel belonging to it, called the "Holy of holies,"* where it is impossible for any man to reckon up the number of indulgences granted to it. These vast numbers of years then are no fiction of pardon-mongers, as Bellarmine sometimes is ready to say ; unless he will have the Popes called by that name, or charge the holy churches at Rome with so gross impostures.

But suppose it should be a man's fortune never to see Rome† (as it hath many a good man's), must he be content to lie and rot in purgatory, or trust only to the kindness of his friends ? No, we that live at this distance, have some comfort left : there are some good prayers, appointed for us to use, which will help us at a need ; or else the book of the "Hours of the blessed Virgin, *secundum usum Sarum*," is strangely mistaken : but herein I am likewise prevented by the author of the Preface lately mentioned ; but my edition being elder than either of those mentioned by him, seems to have something peculiar to it, or at least omitted by him.

As when it saith of the prayer, *Obsecro te Domina Sancta Maria, &c.* "Though all them that be in the state of grace,

* Rasponi de Basil. I. Later. l. 4. c. 19. [Ibid. p. 361.]

† Of Indulgences for saying some Prayers.

that daily say devouteli this prayer before owre blessed Lady of Pity she wolle shewe them her blessed vysage, and warn them the day and owre of deth, and in there last end, the angels of God shall yield their sowles to heaven, and he shall obtain five hundredth yeres, and soo many lentis of pardon, graunted by five holy Fathers, Popes of Rome.*” This is pretty well for one prayer!

But this is nothing to what follows, to a much shorter prayer than that.

“ *Our holy Father Sixtus IV. Pope hath graunted,† to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lady in the sone eleven thousand years of pardon.*” A prayer said to good purpose! I confess I can hardly stoop now, to those that have only days of pardon promised them; yet for the sake of the procurer, I will mention one.

“ *Our holy Father Pope Sixtus hath graunted at the instance of the highmost and excellent Princess Elizabeth,‡ late Queen of Englund, and wyfe to our Soveraign Liege Lord King Henry the VIIth; God have mercy on her sweet soul, and all Christen souls, that every day in the morning after three tollinges of the ave bell, say three times the hole salutation of our Lady Ave Maria gratiâ, that is to say, at six the klock in the morning three Ave Maria, at 12 of the klock at none four Ave Maria, and at six a clock at even, for every time so doing, is graunted of the spiritual treasour of holy Church three hundred days of parden totiens quotiens.*” To which is annexed, the pardon of the two archbishops and nine bishops, forty days apiece, three times a day, which begun A. D. 1429, the seventh year of Henry VII. and the sum of the indulgence and pardon for every *Ave Maria*, is eight hundred days *totiens quotiens*.

But if a man thinks himself well provided already, and hath a mind to help his friends, there is nothing like the fifteen O. O s. of St. Bridget.

“ *Thys be the 15 O. O s. the which the holy Virgin S. Brygytta was woente to say dayle,§ before the holy rode in S. Pauls Church at Rome; who so says this a yere, he schall deliver 15 soules out of purgatory of his next kyndren, and convert other 15 sinners to gode lyf, and other 15 righteous men of his kynd shall persevere in gode lyf. And wat ye*

* Horæ B. V. Mariæ secundum usum Sarum, p. 38.

† P. 42. ‡ P. 45. § P. 50.

desyre of God ye schall have it, if that be to the salvation of your soule."

Not long after, we find a better endowment with number of years, than any we have yet met with.

"To all them that before this image of Pytie devoutly say five Pater Noster and five Aves and a Credo, pityously beholding these arms of Crystes passion, are graunted thirty two thousand seven hundred and fifty years of pardon; and Sixtus the 4. Pope of Rome hath made the 4. and the 5. prayer, and hath doubled his foresaid pardon."*

The prayer with Boniface VI. his "indulgence of ten thousand years pardon"† will hardly down with me now: much less that niggardly grant of John XXII. of a "hundred days' pardon." What customers doth he hope to find at such sordid rates?

Sixtus IV. for my money; witness this indulgence.

"Our holy Father Sixtus 4. graunted to all them that beyn in state of grace,‡ sayeing this prayer following, immediately after the elevation of the body of our Lord clene remission of all their sins perpetually enduring. And also John 3. Pope of Rome, at the request of the Queen of England, hath graunted unto all them that devoutly say this prayer before the image of our Lord crucified, as many days of pardon, as there were wounds in the body of our Lord in the tyme of his bitter passion, the which were 5365."

It is well Sixtus came after him, or else his market had been spoiled, the other so much outbid him.

Next to clean pardon, John XXII. offers fair; only the task is somewhat harder, it being for three prayers.

"Thys 3 prayers be writton in the chappelle of the holy Cross in Rome,§ otherwise called Sacellum sanctæ Crucis 7 Romanorum, whoo that devoutly say them shall obtayn 90,000 years of pardon for dedly sins graunted by our holie Father John 22, Pope of Rome."

Methinks he should have made them up a full hundred thousand, when his hand was in; but I perceive they are *prudential* in dispensing pardons as well as Scripture.

But there is one condition implied in some of these prayers, called "being in a state of grace," the want of which may hinder the effect of them; but although due confession with absolution will at any time put a man into it, yet is there no

* P. 54.

† P. 58.

‡ P. 61.

§ P. 66.

remedy without it? We will try once more for that, and end these indulgences. And I think the prayer of St. Bernardine of Sienna will relieve us.

"Thys most devoutly prayer, said the holy Father, St. Bernardine daylie kneeling in the worship of the most holy name Jesus. And this is well to believe that through the invocation of that most excellent name of Jesu, St. Bernard obtayned a singular reward of perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesu Christ. And this prayer is written in a table that hangeth at Rome in St. Peter's Church, nere to the higher awter, there as our holy father the Pope duely is wonte to say the office of the masse. And hoo that devoutly with a contrite heart dayly say this oryson, yf he be that day in the state of eternal damnation, than this eternal Payne shall be changed him in temporal Payne of purgatory, than yf he hath deserved the Payne of purgatory, yt shall be forgotten and forgiven, thorow the infinite mercy of God."*

This is enough of all reason.

And so much shall serve, to set forth what the practice of Indulgences hath been in the Church of Rome, and what is expressed in them.

I now come to give account, what opinion† hath been had of the indulgences, in their own Church; wherein some have freely confessed, they have no foundation in Scripture or antiquity; others, that they are only pious frauds, and those who have gone about to defend them, have been driven to miserable shifts in the defence of them.

I. Some have confessed, that they have no foundation in Scripture, or antiquity. Durandus,‡ saith, "that very little can be affirmed with any certainty, concerning indulgences, because neither the Scripture speaks expressly of them, and the Fathers Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, Jerome, speak not at all of them :" and therefore he hath no more to say, "but that the common opinion is to be followed therein." The same is said by another Schoolman; who adds this,§ "that though it be a negative argument, yet it is of force, because in the time of those Fathers, they were very much skilled in the Scriptures; and it were very strange, if indulgences were to be

* Pag. 75.

† What opinion hath been had of Indulgences in the Roman Church.

‡ Durand in Sentent. l. 4. dist. 20. q. 3. [fol. cccc. p. 2. col. 1. Par. 1508.]

§ John Major in Sent. l. 4. dist. 20. [fol. cxlvii. p. 1. col. 2. Par. 1509.]

found there, that they did not find them." This is likewise affirmed by Cajetan,* Dominicus Soto, and all those who assert that the use of indulgences came into the Church, upon the relaxing the severity of the primitive discipline ; which, they say, continued in use for 1000 years after Christ. But the most express testimonies in this case, are of Bishop Fisher, who saith, "that the use of indulgences came very late into the Church ;" and of Polydore Virgil, following his words ; and of Alphonsus à Castro, who ingeniously confesseth, "that among all the controversies he writes of, there is none which the Scripture or Fathers speak less of, than this ; but, however," he saith, "though the use of them seem to have come very late into the Church, they ought not to be contemned ; because many other things are known to later ages, which the ancient writers were wholly ignorant of," for which he instanceth in transubstantiation, procession from the Son, and purgatory. But he ought to have remembered what himself had said before, in a chapter of finding out heresies ; that "the novelty of any doctrine makes it of itself to be suspected, because Christ and his Apostles did give sufficient instruction for attaining eternal life ; and after the law given by Christ, no other law is to be expected, because his testament is eternal." Let this be applied to his own confession of these doctrines, and the consequence is easily discerned. And it is an excellent saying of Bellarmine, that "in things which depend on the will of God, nothing ought to be affirmed, unless God hath revealed it in the holy Scriptures." Therefore, according to the opinion of these persons, who assert the doctrine of indulgence, to have no foundation in Scripture or antiquity, it can be no other than a notorious cheat.

2. Some in the Church of Rome, have called them "pious frauds." This appears by the controversies which arose upon indulgences, at the same time when they began to grow common. For Aquinast† and Bonaventure tell us, "that there were some in the Church who said, that the intention of the Church in

* Cajetan Opusc. de Indulgent. init. Soto in Sent. l. 4. dist. 20. Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. c. 4. [vol. 4. p. 1793. Lut. Par. 1609.] Estius in Sent. l. 4. dist. 20. § 2. [vol. 4. p. 282. col. 1. Par. 1638.] Morinus de Pœnitent. l. 20. c. 20. n. 9. [ut supra, p. 770. col. 2.] Roff. c. Luther. Art. 18. [Oper. p. 496. Wirceb. 1597.] Polyd. Virgil. de Invent. l. 8. c. 1. [p. 612. Basil. 1570.] Alphons. à Castro advers. Hæres. l. 8. v. Indulg. fol. 115. p. 2. Par. 1543.] Alphons. l. 1. c. 12. Bellar. de Amiss. Gratia, l. 6. c. 3. resp. ad object. 6. [ut supra, vol. 4. p. 201. col. 1.]

† Aquin. Supplement. sum. q. 25. art. 2. [vol. 25. p. 72. col. 2. Venet. 1787.] Bonavent. in Sent. l. 4. dist. 20. q. 6.

indulgences, was only by a pious fraud to draw men to charitable acts, which otherwise they would not have done ; as a mother which promiseth her child an apple to run abroad, which she never gives him, when she hath brought him to it.” Which is the very instance they used, as Gregory* de Valencia confesseth. But this Aquinas rejects, as a very dangerous opinion ; “because this is in plain terms, to make the Church guilty of a notorious cheat, and,” as he saith, from St. Augustine, “if any falsehood be found in Scripture, it taketh away the authority of the whole ; so if the Church be guilty of a cheat in one thing, she will be suspected in all the rest.” This, saith Bonaventure, “is to make the Church to lie and deceive, and indulgences to be vain and childish toys.” But for all these hard words, they had a great deal of reason on their side ; for the indulgences were express for the remission of the sins of those who did such and such things, as the giving of a small sum of money towards the building of a church or an hospital ; they therefore asked, “whether the indulgences were to be taken as they were given or no ?” If they were, then all those had full remission of sins, on very easy terms ; if not, then what is this else but fraud and cheating ; and can be only called pious, because the work was good which they did ? This put the defenders of indulgences very hard to it ; Præpositivus, one of the eldest of the schoolmen, confesseth “that it looks a little oddly for a man to be absolved from all his sins for three pence,† given in three several places ; and that the rich, by this means, have a mighty advantage over the poor :” but he resolves it all “into the power of the Church.” Petrus Cantor confesseth the difficulties great, but “only for the Church’s authority ;” and especially in those general indulgences which are pronounced without any distinctions.‡ Therefore, he saith, Greg. IV. as he calls him (Morinus thinks Greg. VIII.) in the dedication of the Church of Benevento, told the people, “it was much safer for them to undergo their penance, than to receive an indulgence from him of any part of it :” and another bishop, being desired an indulgence, would give it but for two days ; but if any one asks, whether the remission of sins were presently obtained after indulgence, or only when they are incapable of penance, *viz.* after death ; “for his part,” he saith, “he desires them to consult the Pope, or the bishop

* Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. c. 2. [ut supra, p. 1784.]

† Apud Morin. l. 10. c. 20. n. 5. [ut supra, p. 769. col. 1.]

‡ Ib. n. 7. [ibid. p. 769. col. 2.]

that gives the indulgence, whether of these opinions is true ;" and when the bishop of Paris shewed him the magnificent church he had built by virtue of indulgences ; Cantor told him, "he had done much better if he had let them alone, and persuaded the people to undergo their penance."

But because the form of indulgences ran in such large and general terms ; it grew to be a great question among the Schoolmen, "whether the validity of indulgences was as great, as the words of them ?" Which in other terms is, whether the Church did cheat or not, in giving them, for if they were not to understand them, according to the plain words of them, what is this but a gross imposture to abuse the credulous people, and laugh in their sleeves at them for their simplicity ? For while the people have so good an opinion of their Church, as to believe the truth of what she declares, and to take indulgences according to the sense of the words ; if their meaning who give them be otherwise than is expressed, it is one of the most abominable cheats that ever was invented by men. For picking purses, forging deeds, or betraying men, are tolerable things in comparison ; but to abuse and ruin their souls, under a pretence of pardoning their sins, is the utmost degree of fraud and imposture. Let us now see how these hucksters defend their Church in this case ; for the question hath been debated among the Schoolmen, ever since indulgences came up. Some resolve it thus : that indulgences do signify as much as the Church declares,* but with these conditions ; that there be sufficient authority in the giver, and necessity in the receiver, that he believe the Church hath power to forgive them, that he be in a state of grace and give a sufficient compensation ; which is to overthrow what they said, unless those conditions were expressed in the indulgences. Some say, that common indulgences held only for sins of ignorance ; others, for venial sins ; others, for penances negligently performed ; others, for purgatory pains.† Some again said, that these could signify no more than a relaxation of canonical penance, whatever the words were, and that they were introduced for no other end, and they do not reach any further, than the Church's canonical power or judgment doth, and not to the judgment of God. But this opinion, saith Greg. de Valentiâ,‡ doth not differ from the heretics : and withal, he saith, "upon this principle

* Guil. Altissiodor. sum. 1. 4. tract. 6. c. 9.

† Morin. l. 10. c. 21. n. 3. [p. 772. col. 1. Antwerp. 1682.]

‡ Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. c. 2. [Ibid.]

indulgences do more hurt than good ; for if it were not for them, the sinner, by his penance, might take away some part of his punishment ; but now he relies upon his indulgences, and does no penance, and so undergoes his whole punishment.” Albertus M.* saith, “they are much mistaken, who say that indulgences are to be understood as large as their words are, without any further condition ; and that this is to enlarge the court of God’s mercy too far ;” and says, “many conditions are to be understood, which are not expressed in them.” This gave the first occasion to the treasure of the Church, invented by Aquinas to satisfy this argument of Albertus, concerning the mercy of God being extended too far by indulgences ; for hereby, what punishment is taken away from one, is made up by the punishment of another, which is reckoned upon his account. And therefore, he saith, “the cause of the remission of punishment, is not the devotion, work, or gift of the receiver, but the treasure of merits which was in the Church which the Pope might dispense ; and therefore, the quantity of the remission was not to be proportioned to the acts of the receiver, but to the stock of the Church.” This rich bank of the Church’s stock being thus happily discovered, they do not question now, but to set all accounts even with it ; and therefore, Aquinas confidently affirms, “that indulgences are to be understood simply, as they are expressed ; for God,” saith he, “doth not need our lie or deceit ; which he grants must have been, if indulgences had not been meant as they were expressed ; and all men would sin mortally, who preached indulgences. Yet to obtain the indulgence,” he saith, “that every man must give according to his ability ;” for the objection being put, concerning an indulgence being given to three several places, that whosoever gives a penny towards building of a church in every one of these places, shall for each of them have the third part of his sins forgiven him, so that for three-pence a man gets a plenary remission ; he answers, “that a poor man may indeed have it so, but it is to be understood that a rich man ought to give more.” For it is all the reason in the world, that a rich man should pay greater use for the stock of the Church, than a poor man can do : and it is reasonably to be presumed, that he had more sins to be pardoned, than the other ; and therefore, whatever the general terms are, there must be some reserve to hook in more from the rich, than was expressed in the first bargain. But if the

* Albert. M. in Sent. l. 4. dist. 20. art. 17.

rich man should plead law in the case; and cry out it was coven and fraud, to demand more than the first contract was; I am not skilful enough to determine, what action the Church can have against him. But there is another shrewd objection, mentioned by Bonaventure; which is, "that a man gets by sinning," as suppose two men to receive the remission of a third part of their sins by an indulgence, one owes but it may be ninety years penance for his sins, and another hath run upon the score so far that he owes 900 years, both receive a third part indulgence; in which case, we see plainly the greater sinner hath mightily the advantage of the other, and where one gets but thirty, the other gets three hundred. And therefore, Bonaventure is fain to run back again, and to say, "that indulgences are not to be understood as they are expressed, and that they are not equal to all, but it was not fit to express it so, because this would hinder the people's esteem of the indulgence." Which, in plainer terms is, that it is necessary to cheat the people, or else there is no good to be done by indulgences. Thence Petrarch called them "nets,"* wherein the credulous multitude were caught;† and in the time of Boniface IX. the people observing what vast sums of money were gathered by them, cried out they were mere cheats and tricks to get money with; upon which Paulus Langius (a monk) exclaims; "O God, to what are these things come! Thou holdest thy peace, but thou wilt not always; for the day of the Lord will bring the hidden things of darkness to light." Conrad. Urspergensis saith, "that Rome might well rejoice in the sins of the people, because she grew rich by the compensation which was made for them: thou hast," saith he to her, "that which thou hast always thirsted after; sing and rejoice, for thou hast conquered the world, not by religion, but by the wickedness of men. Which is that which draws them to thee, not their devotion and piety." Platina saith,‡ "the selling indulgences brought the ecclesiastical authority into contempt, and gave encouragement to many sins." Urspergensis complains,§ "that plenary indulgences brought more wickedness into the world; for," he saith, "men did then say, let me do what wickedness I

* Petrarch. Ep. 5.

† Gobel. Persona æt. 6. c. 68. Paul. Lang Chronic. Citinens. ad A.D. 1395. Ursperg. Chron. p. 307.

‡ Platina in Bonif. 9. [Indulgentiae vero et quidem plenariae ita passim vindebantur ut jam vilesceret clavum et literarum apostolicarum auctoritas. p. 281. Colon. 1593.]

§ Ursperg. Chron. p. 322.

will, by them I shall be free from punishment, and deliver the souls of others from purgatory.” Gerson saith, * “none can give a pardon for so many years, as are contained in the Pope’s indulgences, but Christ alone :” therefore, what are they but cheats and impostures? In Spain indulgences were condemned by Petrus de Osma, a divine of Salamanca, and his followers, as appears by the Pope’s bull against them, A.D. 1478. In Germany by Johannes de Vesaliâ, a famous preacher of Mentz ; for Serrarius reckons this among the chief of his opinions, “that indulgences were only pious frauds and ways to deceive the people, and that they were fools who went to Rome for them.” About the same time flourished Wesselus Groningensis, incomparably the best scholar of his age, and therefore called *Lux mundi*; he was not only skilled in School Divinity (almost the only learning of that time), but in the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee and Arabic ; having travelled into Greece, Egypt, and been in most Universities of Europe, and read the most ancient authors, in all kinds of learning ; on the account of his learning, he was much in favour with Sixtus IV. and was present and admired at the Council of Basil ; but he was so far from being a friend to indulgences, that in his epistle, he saith, † “that no popes could grant an indulgence for an hour, and that it is a ridiculous thing to imagine that for the same thing done, sometimes an indulgence should be granted for seven years, sometimes for seven hundred, sometimes for seven thousand, and sometimes for ever, by a plenary remission ; and that there is not the least foundation in Scripture, for the distinction of remitting the fault and the punishment, upon which the doctrine of indulgences is founded. That the giving of them was a design of covetousness ; and although the Pope once swore to the King of France’s Ambassador, that he did not know the corruption of the sellers of indulgences, yet when he did know them he let them alone, and they spread farther. That God himself doth not give plenary remission to contrition and confession, and therefore the Pope can much less do it : but if God doth forgive, how comes the Pope to have power to retain? And if there be no punishment retained when God forgives, what hath the Pope to do to release?” Against him writes one Jacobus Angularis ; ‡ he

* Gerson de Indulg. Consid. 8. Bull. Rom. tom. 1. Sixt. 4. Const. 17. [p. 417. col. 1. Luxemb. 1727.] Serrar. Rerum Moguntiac. 1. 1. c. 34.

† Wesseli Groning. Oper. p. 867, &c. [Amstel. 1617.]

‡ Jac. Angular. in ep. Wesseli.

confesseth, “there is nothing in Scripture or antiquity expressly for indulgences ; but that ought to be no argument, for there are many other things owned in their Church, as necessary points, which have as little foundation as this, *viz.* St. Peter’s being at Rome, and sacramental confession ; and therefore at last he takes sanctuary in the Pope’s and Church’s authority.” To this Wesselus answers, “that indulgences were accounted pious frauds, before the time of Albertus and Thomas ; that there was a great number of divines, did still oppose the errors and practice of the Court of Rome, in this matter ; that supposing the Church were for them, yet the authority of Scripture is to be preferred before it, and no multitude of men whatsoever is to be believed against Scripture : that he had not taken up this opinion rashly, but had maintained it in Paris thirty-three years before, and in the Pope’s Penitentiary Court at Rome, and was now ready to change it, if he could see better reason for the contrary. That the doctrine of indulgences was delivered very confusedly and uncertainly, by which it appeared to be no Catholic doctrine : that it is almost impossible to find two men agree, in the explication of them : that the doctrine of indulgences was so far from being firmly believed among them, that there was not the strictest person of the Carthusian, or other orders that should receive a plenary indulgence at the hour of death, that yet would not desire his brethren to pray for his soul ; which is a plain argument, he did not believe the validity of the indulgence : that many in the Court of Rome did speak more freely against them, than he did. That the Pope’s authority is very far from being infallible, or being owned as such in the Church ; as appeared by the divines at Paris, condemning the Bull of Clement VI. about indulgences, wherein he took upon him to command the angels, and gave plenary remissions both from the fault and punishment. Which authentic bulls,” he saith, “were then to be seen at Vienne, Limoges, and Poictou.” It is notorious to the world, what complaints were made in Germany, after his time, of the fraud of indulgences, before any other point of religion came into dispute ; and how necessarily from this, the Pope’s authority came to be questioned, that being the only pretence they had to justify them by : and with what success these things were then managed, it is to no purpose to write now, than to prove that it is day at noon. The Council of Trent could not but confess horrible abuses in the sale of indulgences ; yet what amendment hath

there been since that time? Bellarmine confesseth,* "that it were better if the Church were very sparing in giving indulgences;" I wonder why so, if my adversary's experience and observation be true, "that they prove great helps to devotion and charity." Can the Church be too liberal in those things which tend to so good an end?

But Bellarmine† would not have the people too confident of the effect of indulgences: for though the Church may have power to give them, yet they may want their effect in particular persons; and therefore, saith he, "all prudent Christians do so receive indulgences, as withal to satisfy God themselves for their sins," *i. e.* in plain terms, that all prudent Christians are too wise to believe them, and none but fools do rely on them. For if there were any thing but fraud and imposture in them, why may not a prudent Christian trust a Church, which he believes infallible? If the Head of the Church publishes an indulgence, wherein he remits to all that are confessed and contrite, upon doing such actions of charity and piety, the remaining temporal punishment of their sins: I desire to know why a prudent Christian of that Church, may not, yea, ought not, to rely upon his word? Doth he suspect the Head of his Church may cheat and abuse him? If he doth, what becomes of infallibility? If he verily believes that the Pope cannot err, and will not deceive, why must not his word be taken? and how can his word be taken for the remitting of a debt, when they take as much care of payment as if he had said nothing? I know not how those things pass among the prudent Christians of that Church, but to me they look like the greatest suspicion of a cheat that may be. As suppose a great person out of kindness to one that is in danger of lying in prison for debt, gives him a note under his hand, that upon the acknowledgement of his debt to his attorney, and paying him his fees, he will see his debt wholly discharged; and a friend of the prisoner tells him openly, he ought to receive that favour in an extraordinary manner, with all thankfulness; for that person is one who can never fail of his word; and he need not question his ability, for he hath a vast treasure in his hands, to be disposed of for such uses; can we otherwise think, but that the poor man would be strangely surprised with joy at it; and if he hath any money left, he will be sure to give it to the person employed in so good a work? But withal, if he should secretly

* Bell. de Indulg. l. 1. c. 12. [vol. 3. p. 668. col. 2. Prag. 1721.]

† Of Bellarmine's prudent Christian.

whisper him, that he advised him as a friend, that he would look out all other ways imaginable to satisfy his creditors, and that all prudent persons in his case, had taken the same course ; what must the thoughts of such a man be of such a large and noble offer ? Truly, that the gentleman was a great courtier, but a man must have a care of believing him too far ; and his friend understood the world, and that one thing was to be said and done in show, nor to disoblige so great a person, but for all that, a man must mind his own business, or he may be choused at last, if he trust too far to such large promises. This is just the case of indulgences in the Roman Church ; a man is affrighted with the dreadful prison of purgatory, as the temporal punishment of his sins, which God will certainly exact from him, either here by satisfactions and penances, or there in the pains of that state ; while the man considers with himself the hardness of his condition, he hears of indulgences to be had ; and after he hath inquired the meaning of them, is very well satisfied, that if he can get one of them, he shall do well enough. For he is told that his holiness is infallible, and that he cannot cheat or lie, or deceive like other men ; and therefore of all persons in the world, he would soonest trust him ; but because many others are in the same condition with him, he may a little question, whether his stock will hold out or no : here his friends assure him the treasure of the Church (of which the Pope hath the keys) is so large, that if it were a thousand times more, he need not fear it ; only he must confess his sins, and have contrition for them, and do some charitable acts, and pay some customary fees and duties, and he shall have a total discharge. Well, says the man, in a transport of joy, this is the bravest Church in the world for a man to sin in, if he may escape thus : and what need I question, since the Pope is infallible, and the treasury of the Church is inexhaustible ? How am I freed now, not only from the fears of hell and purgatory, but from crabbed and hateful penance ? That honest and kind-hearted gentleman, the Pope, hath struck a tally for me in his exchequer, and I shall have my share in my course and order ; without lashings, and whippings, and fastings, and mumblings, and I know not how many odd tricks besides : but soft and fair, saith Bellarmine's prudent Christian to him, be not too confident of your ease and discharge, you must use as great severities with yourself, and undergo as many penances, and say as many prayers, as if you had no indulgences at all. Say you so ? I pray what benefit

then have I, saith he, by this which you call an indulgence ? What is it an indulgence of ? Is there not a full remission of sins contained in it ? And I have been always told, by that is meant the discharge of the temporary punishment due to sin, either here, or in purgatory : shall I be discharged, or shall I not upon it ? If I shall, what do you tell me of that which I am discharged from ? If not, the indulgence is a spiritual trepan, and the Pope an infallible cheat. I cannot see how a man can think otherwise, that made such account of the great benefit of indulgences, and at last finds they come to nothing, but deceiving the people, and getting money.

By this we see already, what miserable shifts they are put to,* who defend indulgences but as an honest contract ; but they who will justify them, as containing something divine and satisfactory for the punishment of men's sins, are fain to build the doctrine of them upon such absurd and unintelligible notions, that it is almost as hard to understand, as to believe it. It cannot be denied, that there are some in the Church of Rome, whose doctrine of indulgences is easy enough,† but then it mars the whole market, and this doctrine is therefore condemned by others as heretical in sense : which is, that indulgences are nothing else but a relaxation of the ancient severity of Church discipline, according to the old Pœnitential Canons ; which doth not respect the justice of God, but the discipline of the Church over offenders. This is a doctrine we have nothing to complain of the difficulty of understanding, but we know not to what purpose (if this be all) any particular indulgences are ever given ; since there is so general an indulgence, by the practice of the whole Church, among them ; wherein they cannot pretend to observe any of the old Pœnitential Canons. And to give a man an indulgence, to omit that which nobody requires, and is wholly out of use, would be like the king's giving a man a patent, not to wear trunk-hose and ruffs, when it would be ridiculous to use them. And if this were all intended, why is it not so expressed, if they meant honestly ? but they know, if their pardons ran so, no one would give a farthing for them. What need any talk of the Church's treasure for this ? Which Clement VI. made the ground of indulgences in his bull : and hath been asserted by the most

* The Absurdity of the Doctrine of Indulgences, and the Church's Treasure.

† Cassander in consult. art. 12. [p. 103. Ludg. 1608.] Barns Cathol. Rom. Pacific. §, 9. White de medio anim. statu dem. 26.

zealous defenders of them. This way of explaining indulgences then, though it be easy and intelligible, yet it is not reconcileable with the practice of the Chuch of Rome ; nor with the suppositions, on which that practice is built. We are therefore to inquire, what they can make of it, who go about to defend it, as it is practised, and generally understood among them. To this end they tell us, "that although the fault be remitted upon the sacrament of penance ; yet the temporal punishment of sins remains, which God must be satisfied for : that this temporal punishment is either to be undergone here, or in purgatory ; that every man must have undergone it himself, if there had not been a treasure of the Church made up of the satisfactions of Christ, and the saints, to make amends to God for every one, to whom that treasure is applied. That the dispensing of this treasure is in the hands of the Pope, who gives it out by indulgences ; which being applied to any person, upon the condition required, he is thereby discharged from the debt of temporal punishment, which he owed to God."

This is the received doctrine of indulgences in the Roman Church ; which holds together till you touch it, and then it presently flies in pieces like a glass drop, or vanishes into smoke and air. It is of so tender a composition, that it can endure no rough handling ; if you like it as it is, much good may it do you, but you must ask no questions : but however, I shall ; to shew the monstrous absurdities of this doctrine.

1. Why, if the indulgence only respect the punishment and not the fault, the terms of the indulgence do not express this, that the people may not be deceived ? Why in all indulgences since this doctrine is so explained, as in the Jubilees of Clement VIII.* and of Urban VIII. (the former of whom is applauded by Bellarmine for a reformer of indulgences), the most general expressions are still used of most plenary indulgence, remission, and pardon of their sins ? Why it is not said only of the temporal punishment due to sin, the fault being supposed to be remitted ?

2. How punishment doth become due, when the fault is remitted ? If the punishment be just, it must have respect to the fault ; for to punish without respect to the fault is all one, as to punish without fault ; if it have respect to the fault, how that fault can be said to be remitted, which is punished ? So

* Clem. 8. Const. 58. tom. 3. Bull. [Roman. p. 84. Luxemb. 1727.] Urban. 8. Const. 16. tom. 4. [Ibid. p. 49.]

far as a man is punished, it is nonsense to say he is pardoned ; and so far as he is not pardoned, his fault is charged upon him.

3. Suppose temporal punishment remain to be satisfied for ; whether all, or only some one kind ? whether diseases, pains, and death, be not part of the temporal punishment of sin ; and whether men may be freed from these, by indulgences ? Whether from the effects of the justice of God, in extraordinary judgments ? If not, how can a man be said to be freed from the temporal punishment of sin, that is as liable to it as any one else ? *

4. If only one sort of the temporal punishment of sin, why is not that one sort declared what it is, that all men may be satisfied from the Pope himself, whom some believe infallible in his indulgence ? Others we find are not agreed about it ; some say it is only the punishment due to sin above the canonical penance ; some, that it is only the canonical penance, and not that which is due from the justice of God ; some that it is for both ; some only for negligence in performing penance ; some that it is only for enjoined penance ; and others that it is for all that may be enjoined. In this diversity of opinions, what security can any man have, what punishment he is to be freed from ?

5. If it be from canonical penance, whether a man is wholly freed from the obligation to that, or no ? If he be, what power hath the priest to enjoin penance after ? If he be not free, what is it he is freed from ? and in what tolerable sense can this be called a most full remission of sins, which neither remits the fault, nor the natural or divine punishment, nor so much as the canonical penance enjoined by a priest ?

6. Although there needs no treasure, where nothing is discharged ; yet since so great a one is spoken of for this purpose, wherein the satisfaction of Christ bears the greatest share ; it were worth the inquiring why the satisfaction of Christ might not as well remit the temporal punishment, when the fault is remitted on the account of it, as afterwards by indulgences ?

7. How the parts of Christ's satisfaction come to be divided, into that which was necessary, and that which was redundant, so as the necessary satisfies for the fault, and the redundant for the temporal punishment ? whether Christ did any more than God required ? whether any thing which God required can be said to be redundant ? if there be, how one part comes to be applied, and the other cast into a treasure ? What parts can be made of an infinite and entire satisfaction ? and if so little

were necessary, and so much redundant, how the least part comes to satisfy for the fault and eternal punishment ; and the greatest, only for the temporal punishment ?

8. Whether all the satisfaction of Christ, taken together, were not great enough to remit the eternal punishment of the whole world ? if it were, whether all the redundant parts of that be cast into a treasure too ? and who hath the keeping of it, and what use is made of so much more useful a treasure, than that which serves only to remit the temporal punishment ? What account can the Pope give of suffering so vast a part of the Church's treasure to lie idle, and make no use of it for the benefit of those that need it ?

9. May not the Pope, if he thinks of it, gather another mighty treasure of the absolute power of God, which is never used, as for making new worlds, &c. May he not, by the help of this, deliver souls out of hell, as well as by the other out of purgatory ? and if this be so much the greater kindness, he ought to think of it, and employ this treasure for these purposes. Why may he not think of another treasure of the light of the sun that is more than enough for the use of the world, and lay it up in store, for the benefit of the purblind and aged ?

10. If the satisfaction of Christ be so redundant, how comes it not to be sufficient for so poor an end as indulgences serve for ; but the satisfactions of the saints must make up a share in this treasure too ? Is not this worse than to light a candle to help the sun, to suppose Christ's satisfaction so infinite, as to be sufficient to redeem more worlds ; and yet not enough to deliver from temporal punishment, without the satisfactions of the saints ?

11. How come the saints to make such large satisfactions to the justice of God, if the satisfaction of Christ were of so infinite a nature ? and if they did make satisfactions, were they not sufficiently rewarded for them ? if they were, how come those satisfactions to help others, which they were so abundantly recompensed for themselves ?

12. If the satisfaction of Christ doth only obtain grace for the saints, to satisfy themselves for the temporal punishment of their sins ; how can the application of this satisfaction by indulgences, free any from the temporal punishment of their sins ? Or have the satisfactions of saints, being joined with Christ's, greater power now in common penitents, than the satisfaction of Christ alone in the greatest saints ?

13. Why the satisfaction of Christ may not serve, without

the saints, to remit only the temporal punishment of sins ; when it was sufficient alone, to remit both eternal and temporal in the sacrament of baptism ? Or was the force of it spent then, that it needs a fresh supply afterwards ? but if then it could be applied to a higher end, without any other help, why not where it is to have far less efficacy ?

14. If satisfaction be made to God for the temporal punishments of penitents, by indulgences ; I desire to know, when and by whom the payment is made to God ? If it was made by the persons, whose satisfactions make the Church's treasure, for that end, what hath the Pope to do to dispense that, which God hath accepted long ago for payment ? If it be made by the Pope, in what way doth he make it ? Doth he take out so much ready cash of the Church's treasure, and pay it down upon the nail, according to the proportion of every one's sins ? or doth he only tell God, where such a treasure lies, and bid him go and satisfy himself, for as much as he discharges of his debt ?

15. How came this treasure of the Church, into the Pope's keeping ? Who gave him alone the keys of it ? If there were any such thing, methinks those, who are trusted with the greater treasure of Christ's necessary satisfaction for the remitting of eternal punishment, as every priest is by their own doctrine in the sacrament of penance, should not be denied the lesser, of the superfluities of Christ and the saints' sufferings, for the remitting only temporal punishment. When I once see these questions satisfactorily answered, I may then think better of this doctrine, than I do at present ; for the best I can think of it now is, that there never was a doctrine more absurd in the ground of it, or more gainful in the practice, than this of indulgences in the Roman Church ; and therefore ought to be accounted one of the most notorious cheats that ever was in the Christian world.

But let us suppose it otherwise,* and then we are to inquire, whether this would tend to promote or obstruct that very way of devotion, which is most in request in the Roman Church ? There are but two ways to judge of this, either by experience, or the nature of the doctrine itself. For experience, my adversary alleges his own, and that he hath seen great devotion caused by them : but by his favour the question is not, what outward acts of devotion may be performed by some ignorant and silly people, who are abused by great hopes of strange benefits by indulgences, and therefore prepare them-

* The Tendency of Indulgences to hinder Devotion.

selves with some show of devotion to receive them, especially when they are unusual ; but the question is, whether they have these effects upon those who understand the nature and design of them, and the doctrine of their Church about them. For as Durandus* resolves it, “ the validity of the indulgence doth not depend on the devotion of the receiver ; for then,” saith he, “ the indulgence would contain a falsity in it, which is, that whosoever doth such a thing, as going to the seven churches, shall have plenary remission of his sins ; therefore,” saith he, “ whoever doth the thing, shall have the whole benefit of the indulgence, or else the indulgence is false.” And to his experience, I shall oppose that of greater observers of the world, than he hath been. I have already mentioned the testimony of Uspergensis, and others, concerning the effects of plenary indulgences in their times ; how men encouraged themselves to sin the more, because of them. Polydore Virgil† observes, “ that when indulgences were grown common, many men did abstain less from doing evil actions.” The author of the book, called *Onus Ecclesiae*, saith, “ that they take men off from the fruits of repentance, and are profitable only to the idle and wicked.” The Princes of Germany, in the Diet of Nuremberg, among the grievances represented to the Pope, by the consent of them all,‡ upon the mention of indulgences reckon, as the least bad consequence of them, “ that the people were cheated of their money by them ;” but that they say was far more considerable, “ that true Christian piety was destroyed by them ; and that all manner of wickedness did spring from thence ; and that men were afraid of committing no kind of sins, when at so cheap a rate they could purchase a remission of them.” But setting aside the experience of these things, let us consider what the nature of the doctrine itself tends to, to those who believe it. The least benefit we see allowed them, is a freedom from enjoined penances ; and what are these penances accounted among them, but fruits of true repentance, a severe mortification, fasting, frequent prayers and alms ? so that the short of this doctrine is, that men by indulgences are excused from doing the best parts of their religion, and if this be a way of promoting devotion, I leave any one in his senses to judge.

* Durand. in Sentent. 1. 4. dist. 20. q. 4. [ut supra, fol. cccc. p. 2. col. 2.]

† Polyd. Virg. de Invent. Rer. 1. 8. c. 1. *Onus Eccl.* c. 14. §. 28. [c. 15. §. 28.] [fol. xxv. Colon. 1531.]

‡ Centum Gravamina, art. 3, 4. [Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. p. 354, 355. Lond. 1690.]

BOOK V.

THE POPISH METHODS FOR THE PARDON OF SIN, GROUNDLESS; UPON THE HEAD OF MERIT OF GOOD WORKS.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE MERIT OF GOOD WORKS.

THE doctrine of the Merit of Good Works is justly looked upon by Protestants, as one of the opinions of the present Church of Rome.

First, The Council of Trent* does anathematize those who deny that a man justified by good works, does truly merit eternal life. Vega, who wrote his books of Justification during the time that he was at the Council, does maintain,† that the Council, by truly meriting, did understand *meriting de condigno*. Now the difference betwixt merit *de congruo*, and merit *de condigno*, used in the Roman Church is this; merit *de congruo* signifies a good work, which is worthy of Divine reward, not out of any obligation from justice, but out of a principle of fitness (or congruity), and from the free bounty of God. Merit *ex condigno* is a good work, to which reward is due from a principle of justice, as well because of the work, as because of the worth of the person that has done it.

Secondly, It is the opinion of the divines of the Church of Rome, as Bellarmine has determined ;‡ Gregory de Valentia maintains it also for a certain§ point of faith.

Thirdly, The Inquisition did most evidently declare it, when it did expunge for heretical, out of several books of that

* Sess. 6. Can. 32. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 768. Lut. Par. 1672.]

† Op. de Justific. q. 5. ‡ De Justif. l. 5. c. 17.

§ Tom. 2. Disp. 8. q. 6. punct. 1. sect. 1. [p. 1255. Lut. Par. 1609.]

Church, such propositions as did deny the merit of good works. The same thing also was done by Cardinal Quiroga, in his *Index Expurgatorius*, which he composed according to the order of the Council of Trent.

Fourthly, The same spirit did appear in the divines of the Church of Rome, when they advised those of their communion to take heed of the opinion of such ancient authors as do oppose the merit of good works. Which was done at Rome, in Spain, in France, with respect to such authors, as they could not any longer suppress. Which matter of fact is so evident, that nothing but the height of impudence can be able to gainsay or deny it.

If it comes once to be fully acknowledged, that the Church of Rome is of this opinion, we may justly charge it with one of the proudest errors, that it could ever possibly be guilty of; and with having renounced that grand principle of Christianity, which does look upon that reward which God does vouchsafe to good works, as the effect not of commutative justice, which gives so much for so much, but as the effect of the faithfulness of God to such as should obey his commandments, though their obedience has nothing in itself able to merit such a reward. For so saith St. Paul, “The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.”*

Moreover, we are very sure, that if the Church of Rome in this article of her belief, be quite of another opinion than St. Paul, and the whole stream of antiquity was of, for the eleven first ages of the Church, which has sufficiently been proved; so neither does it agree with the most eminent doctors of the Latin Church, which have been since the eleventh age. To prove this, is the design of this discourse, that there may be no refuge left for this error in this matter.

I begin with that exhortation which Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury,† required should be given to a certain monk when he was dying, after this manner: “Do you believe that you cannot be saved but by the death of Jesus Christ?” *Ans.* “I do believe so.” “Do you heartily thank him for it?” *Ans.* “I do.” “Be you therefore ever thanking him for it as long as you live, and put your whole trust and confidence in that death alone; and let that be your only safeguard. And if the Lord will enter into judgment with thee, say thus:

* Rom. viii. 18.

† Oper. p. 291.

O Lord, unless I hold the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between me and thee, and thy judgment, I am not able to plead with thee. If he tells you that you have merited damnation, say unto him, I hold the death of our Lord Jesus Christ between me and my ill deserts: and instead of those merits which I ought to have, but alas! have not, I offer to thee the merit of his most meritorious passion. Let him say, moreover, I hold the death of Jesus Christ between me and thine anger; after which let him add, Into thy hands, &c." and he shall die with assurance, and he shall never see death.

After this manner did Anselm, who died in the year 1109, require that a monk, that is, such a one, as, according to their opinion, has merits enough, both for himself and others, should make his confession upon his death-bed. Concerning which action of his, one may observe, first, that this Anselm was canonized, and his name is to be found upon the 21st of April in the Roman Martyrology, which shews that he was no teacher of heresy (as they call heresy). Secondly, That this exhortation which he required should be given to persons that were dying, was looked upon as so excellent a one all Europe over, that there is scarce any book, belonging to the Church affairs, wherein it is not to be found. Thirdly, That the Church of Rome itself did own it, as Cardinal Hosius does witness.* Fourthly, That it was never charged with containing any pernicious doctrine till the Popes, and the Inquisitors of the Faith, and the Council of Trent, caused those articles, which we just now took notice of, to be blotted out, as contrary to the belief of their Church. Fifthly, That notwithstanding this condemnation of it by the *Index Expurgatorius*, it is still retained in France, and may be seen in that edition of the book, entitled *Ordo Baptizandi*, which was published in the year 1614, where the same questions and answers are now to be seen, which were formerly condemned by Cardinal Quiroga.

One had need to transcribe the greatest part of St. Bernard's works, to produce all those places wherein that Father has shewn himself to be of the same opinion with St. Anselm. Thus he speaks in his sixty-first Sermon upon the Canticles. " In the mercy of the Lord is my merit; I am rich in merits, seeing he is rich in compassion. As the mercies of the Lord are numberless, so are my merits. If my conscience does accuse me of a great many sins, ' where sins do abound, there

* Confess. Fidei Petric. cap. 73. [p. 133. Antv. 1566.]

does grace much more abound :—shall I sing of my own righteousnesses ? O Lord, I will make mention of thy righteousness only, which is mine also, because thou hast made it so.”

He speaks still more particularly at the end of his book, of Grace and of Free-will. “ How,” says he, “ does the Apostle call that crown which he says is laid up for him, a crown of righteousness ? Is it not because one may justly claim, as a due debt, whatsoever is never so freely promised ? He says, in effect, ‘ I know in whom I have believed ; and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him.’ And because he believed him, who had promised him, he does with confidence demand that which had been promised. The promise is of mercy, but it ought to be performed in justice. The crown then which St. Paul does wait for, is a crown of righteousness, not of his own righteousness, but of God’s. For it is but just, that he should pay what he owes, and he owes whatsoever he has promised. So then, it is the justice of God only, on which the Apostle does rely.—If any one, therefore, would give our merits their due name, they are certain seeds of hope, motives to charity, marks of a secret predestination, presages of future happiness, the way to a kingdom, but by no means the cause which does entitle us to it.”

It is impossible to blast this proud doctrine of merits of condignity, more effectually than St. Bernard does in these words: the same sense is repeated in some others of his works; as in his first sermon of the Annunciation, and in the fifteenth sermon on *Quis habitat*, and especially in his hundred and ninetieth epistle against the heresies of Petrus Abælardus, who was one of the first, after the Pelagians, who did oppose this doctrine of the Gospel.

We may observe, in the mean time, first, that St. Bernard was canonized by Alexander III. in the year 1165, *viz.* twelve years after his death : secondly, that Pope Innocent II. does approve of this epistle of St. Bernard’s against Abælardus, as may be seen by that epistle which he wrote to the archbishops of Sens and of Rheims, to their suffragans, and to St. Bernard himself, and which is the 194th among St. Bernard’s epistles. Thirdly, that he was the most learned man in his time. Fourthly, that he was the founder of an eminent order, which is dispersed throughout all the western part of the world, and that a great number of abbots, bishops, and cardinals have come out of his school.

Petrus, abbot of St. Rhemy — at Rheims, and afterwards bishop of Chartres, wrote these words, a little before the year 1170:*

“That the conscience of him who does make confession of his greatest sins, does stand in need of a handful of the blood of Jesus Christ: instead of dipping the tip of his finger in water, let him wash his hands, not in the blood of a sinner, but in the death of his Redeemer. Let him dip his finger in the place where the nails were.”

He does afterward compare the blood of Jesus Christ upon the cross, to that of the lamb which was sprinkled by the priest; and from thence takes occasion to express himself thus: “Dip then thy finger, and sprinkle it against the veil of the sanctuary, to the end that the blood of our Lord’s passion may serve thee for a key to open the gates of heaven.”

The same author says also in another work of his,† “We must every day present before God, not our own merit, which is evil, but the privilege of his nature, and his mercy.” This is the constant doctrine of the twelfth age.

Urban IV. lived about the middle of the thirteenth age. He is famous for instituting the feast of the sacrament, upon the account of a pretended revelation to a certain religious woman of the country of Liege. There is a commentary of his upon the *Miserere*, where he shews, that he does follow the same doctrine concerning the “merit of good works,” which was universally received before his time. First, he protests that he does appeal from justice to mercy, according to the exhortation of St. Anselm. Secondly, he does confess that there is nothing in him able to merit that glory which he does wait for.‡ Thirdly, he declares that mercy has no respect to our merits, but only to our misery. Fourthly, he does make use of such terms as these: “I do not beg for my own merit’s sake, or for thy justice or my own or for my works’ sake, wherein I have miserably gone astray, but for thy great mercy. *Non peto secundum meritum meum, vel secundum justitiam tuam vel meam vel secundum opera mea, quibus miser deviavi, sed secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*”

Thomas Aquinas, who was contemporary with this Pope,

* *Tract. de Panibus, cap. 15.*

† *Lib. 1. de Tabern. Mosaici Exposit. p. 929. B. P.*

‡ *Quia igitur Solvendo non sum, passionis condignæ ad futuram gloriam quam expecto.*

speaks thus: * “No man can make any pretence of merit before God, unless by supposing a divine disposition, by virtue of which, man does obtain of God by his operation, *quasi mercedem*, in manner of a salary, as it were, that for which God has given him the power of working.” This is the doctrine of the Gospel. But see here the leaven which Thomas adds to it, and which has so very much soured the whole mass of the divinity of the Church of Rome. The same Thomas, in the third article of the same question, with some other divines in his time, does maintain, that because of the operation and the grace of the Holy Spirit wrought in the faithful, and from whence good works do proceed, their good works do merit *de condigno*; which is so very weak a foundation, that one might naturally draw from it a doctrine quite contrary to that which Thomas Aquinas has gathered from it. Upon which account alone, Vasquez thought himself obliged to refute it. The same leaven is to be found also in St. Bonaventure, in Gulielmus Antissiodorensis, and in Gulielmus Parisiensis. But all this could not hinder, but that the holy doctrine should still be preserved in the chairs and schools of the Latin Church.

Ægidius de Roma is very famous both for his birth and dignities, but especially for having undertaken the defence of St. Thomas. The sum of which has been critically examined by an eminent divine of Oxford, in a book entitled, *Thomæ Reprehensorium*. † In the mean time he has made no difficulty of deserting St. Thomas in the matter of merit. He does expressly say, ‡ first, that there must be some equality between the merit and its reward; and that it is this equality, which is the foundation of justice; then he concludes, that where there is not such an equality, there can be no justice. Secondly, he maintains that the faithful are considered in respect of God, as servants are in respect of their masters, children of their parents, and the wife of her husband. He could not have spoken more expressly of justice or of merit. Thirdly, he shews how that our Saviour Jesus Christ declared this truth, Luke xvii. 10, where he says, “When ye shall have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.” §

* 1, 2. Q. 114. A. 1. [ut supra, vol. 21. p. 527. col. 2. 528. col. 1.]

† Auc. Miræ. c. 409.

‡ In 2. dist. 27. Q. 1. Art. 3.

§ Servus autem nihil potest supererogare, sed totum est debitum quicquid facit. Non est ergo simpliciter justum nec simpliciter meritum inter Dominum et servum, sed potest esse aliquid simile huic.

For a servant cannot do more than he ought; for whatsoever he does, is but his duty. “There is not therefore any thing simply just, nor simply a merit between a master and a servant, but there may be something like it.” This is the opinion of him whom they commonly call the prince of divines.

Raymondus de Rochefort, penitentiary of Gregory IX., and the third general of the order of the Jacobins, composed at the same time a summary of the cases of repentance, an abridgment of which may be found in that place, where the author does set down the confession of dying persons, in the same terms that St. Anselm had prescribed to them. There is no need of repeating them, I suppose it was made a little after Raymondus’s work was published, because there are so many ancient manuscripts of it to be found in libraries.

Durandus, bishop of Puy, and afterwards bishop of Meaux, does solemnly confute the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, about the merit of good works.* And he does it so notably, both by Scripture and reason, that the divines of the Church of Rome are forced to look upon him as an antagonist of their Thomas Aquinas. Yet for all that, this Durandus taught divinity at Rome, and at Paris they had generally a great reverence and esteem for him.

Moreover, it is plain that this was not his opinion in particular, but was the general belief of most people: first, that very year in which Durandus died, *viz.* in the year 1333, Guilielmus de Montrotier published a treatise of his, for a direction for curates, in which these words do occur upon the Lord’s Prayer :† “But why do we rather say, ‘Thy kingdom come,’ than say, ‘Let us come into thy kingdom?’ I answer, that it is to shew us, that no man does obtain the glory of paradise by his own merits, but purely by the grace of God, according to that of the Apostle, ‘not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us.’ It is therefore we say *adveniat*, that is to say, ‘Let thy grace come unto us,’ and not, ‘Let us arrive at that; because, as was said, we cannot arrive at it by our own merits.’”

Secondly, Nicholas de Lyra has made notes upon the whole Bible, and has preserved that little knowledge of the holy Scriptures which did remain before the Reformation. He wrote these words at the same time, upon the tenth chapter

* N. 2. dist. 27. q. 2. [fol. excix. p. 2. Par. 1508.]

† Ch. 2. du traitté 3. part 2.

of St. John : “The glory of heaven cannot properly be called wages, but a kind of free gift, in as much as that only which is paid as a recompense for some labour, is called wages. And the reason of this is, because that an inheritance is distinguished from wages properly so called ; just as a son, to whom the inheritance does belong, ought to be distinguished from an hireling, to whom wages is due. Thus the glory of heaven is given to the faithful, as an inheritance is to children, and has not therefore the nature of wages.”

Thirdly, Simon de Cassia, who died in the year 1348, speaks after the same manner,* upon those words, “Call the labourers, and give them hire ;” “Jesus Christ,” saith he, “has made use of a soft word, when he said not, *their hire*, because no man does merit rewards for his good works, nor indeed the greatest wages. Upon which account it is, that he does not add *their*, but *hire* only, *viz.* that which he has from all eternity prepared to bestow upon those that work righteousness.”

The famous Richard, archbishop of Armagh, in his treatise against the errors of the Armenians, speaking of the word *mercies* ; does explain himself in these terms :† “Seeing some certain sort of recompense ought to be given to any one, not upon the account of the condignity of his work, but upon the account of the promise, and so also of the justice of him who gives it, and who promised it only in general ; let this sort of recompense be given in any degree whatsoever, one may still call it wages for work.”

Bradwardin, chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, does attack the Pelagians with a vast volume,‡ wherein he overthrows the doctrine of merit of condignity in several places, vigorously maintaining this proposition, “that merits are not the cause of eternal reward,”§ as the doctrine of the sacred Scriptures, and of antiquity.

If any one does still desire a stronger proof than the testimony of these three persons does afford, though because writing in the same time, in places far distant from one another, and upon a popular subject, one might easily believe them for what they say ; I may allege the University of Paris, where Guy, a professor and a Carmelite, having propounded this proposition against a Jacobin, “Man does merit eternal life *de*

* Lib. 6. c. 21.

† Lib. 12. c. 21.

‡ A. 1350.

§ Merita non esse causam æterni præmiij.

condigno, that is to say, in such a manner, that unless it were given him, he would be injured, and God would wrong himself ;” he was forced to recant it as false, heretical, and blasphemous. This was done in the year 1353, by the order of the Chancellor of the University, and of several other doctors of the faculty at Paris.

After this recantation, we may see many eminent divines following the opinion of St. Anselm, and St. Bernard. One Jacobus de Hauteville, professor at Paris, whose opinion Marsilius ab Ingen does take notice of. Marsilius ab Ingen does formally maintain, that our works, whether considered in themselves, or as the fruit of the grace of God working with us, cannot merit *ex condigno*, which he proves all along by Scripture : and he does determine on the contrary, that whatsoever is called merit, does depend upon the acceptance of God, through the merit of Jesus Christ. Gerardus de Zutphen, who died four years before Marsilius, was plainly of the same opinion.

Towards the end of that age, Raymondus Jordanus, abbot of Celles in Berry, was of this opinion. They published his books under the name of *Idiota*, but Father Raynaud has made it appear that they were this Raymondus’s. Thus he speaks :* “ Tribulation,” says he, “ does not suit well with a past crime which thou dost pardon, nor with the present grace of consolation which thou dost give, nor with the future glory which thou dost freely promise.” These words did displease the censors of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, who therefore put a *cautè legendum* at the margin. They were so much afraid, lest they should wholly attribute the praise of our salvation to the mercy of God.

The doctrine of St. Anselm was not forgotten in the 15th age, which furnishes us with a great many eminent witnesses who did oppose the merit of condignity.

Petrus de Alliaco, bishop of Cambray, and afterwards a cardinal, does maintain that merits are but improperly called the cause of recompense.

Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, a person admired all Europe over in the time of the Council of Constance, does, in his treatise of the Art of Dying, put these words in the mouth of a dying believer : “ O Lord, I implore thy pardon, not for any value of my own merits, but by the

* Lib. 2. Contempl. p. 445. t. 5. B. P.

virtue and efficacy of thy most holy passion, by the which thou wert willing to redeem me, even me that was miserable, and didst vouchsafe to purchase paradise for me by the price of thy blood." The same Gerson, when he made his will, concluded it with this verse—

" Spes mea tu Jesus es, gratia, non opera."

Johannes Waldensis, whose works were examined at Rome, and approved of by Pope Martin V. does at the same time express himself in as precise a manner. When he saw a great party of Thomas Aquinas's opinion concerning merit of condignity, he expresses himself thus : " I take him for a most holy divine, for a most faithful Catholic, and most agreeing with the holy Scriptures, who does simply renounce any such merit, and does avow with the moderation of the Apostle and the Scriptures, that no man does simply merit the kingdom of heaven, but by the grace of God, or by the will of him who bestows it." He proves his opinion by the sacred Scriptures, by the Fathers, by the Canon of the Mass, which speaking of the saints, do import thus much, " into whose company we pray thee to admit us, not regarding our merit, but granting us pardon." And in another place he says : " To the end that we, who do not trust in the quality of merits, may merit not thy judgment but thy mercy."

I confess, that Waldensis, as learned a man as he was, does take those words of the Mass, *non aestimator meriti, sed donator veniae*, in a wrong sense. It is certain, by the expositions of the ages before Waldensis, that the word *meritum* does not in this place signify good works, but sins ; the sense is, " not regarding our sins, but granting us pardon for them." Some of those divines have notwithstanding followed the error of Waldensis ; but if it be a fault, the great approbation which they have for the works of Waldensis has authorised it. And it is very probable, that if so learned a man as Waldensis could thus make use of this place of the Mass, there were a great many divines in his time who understood it in the same sense as he did, more regarding the sound of the terms, than their true signification. However it was, see what he adds, " God," saith he, " according to this article, has no regard to our merit, either of congruity, or of condignity, but to his own grace, will, and mercy. It is therefore very injurious to our Saviour, and him who crowns us so freely, to dispute so much about merits, without speaking of his grace."

Paul, bishop of Burgos, one of the most knowing prelates of his time in the holy Scriptures, did so exactly follow the same opinion, that Cardinal Bellarmine thought himself obliged to join him with Thomas Waldensis, as one of those that did most strongly oppose Thomas Aquinas's opinions concerning this matter.

Biel, who was the first that taught in the University of Tubing, towards the end of the fifteenth age, does explain the merit of condignity in such a manner, as does quite overthrow the same opinions of Thomas, referring all to God's acceptance, positively denying the goodness of an action to be the ground of God's rewarding it, but only his promise, which is the opinion of the ancients, and of Protestants.

Pope Adrian VI., Cardinal Cajetan, and Conrard Koelín, can easily inform us, what was taught in their time, that is to say, in the first thirty years of the sixteenth age.

See what Adrian had written in 4. *Sententiarum* before he was Pope :* "Our merits," saith he, "are like a staff of reed, whereon if a man lean, it breaks, and pierceth the hand of him that leaneth thereon." He imitating Isaiah herein, does compare the righteousness of man to a piece of menstrual cloth. "Our Saviour," writes he, "then speaks rightly, when he says, When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants." This doctor, being afterwards made Pope in the year 1522, caused his works to be printed at Rome, which was done without any contradiction, neither did he ever retract any thing of this doctrine.

Cardinal Cajetan is famous for his conferences with Luther. But as he in his latter days did apply himself to study and comment upon the holy Scriptures, see how he expresseth himself upon the 6th chapter, ver. 23, of the Epistle to the Romans, following herein the conceptions of St. Austin: "St. Paul does not say that eternal life is the wages of righteousness, but the gift of God, to the end that we may understand, that we do not merit eternal life by our merits, but by the free gift of God." This is his opinion at last. For I know, that though this famous Thomist had before pushed things so far, as to maintain that the good works of the righteous do merit eternal life *ex condigno*, yet there was never any divine covenant made thereupon. As Bellarmine does confess *ubi supra*, cap. 16.

* De Sacram. Euchar. post initium.

Conrad Kœlin, commenting upon the Sum of St. Thomas, does reflect upon St. Thomas's opinion, that good works receive *quasi mercedem*, that is, as it were a reward, upon the account of the promise of God made to good works, and says that he expressed himself thus ; " because, properly speaking, man does not receive a reward, because there is nothing just or due in this retribution ;" and he maintains, that in this respect, " it cannot properly be called a reward."*

Erasmus is so express in this matter in many places, that he was censured for it ; and was put in the *Index Expurgatorius*.

Didacus Stella, a famous Cordelier, and confessor to Cardinal Granville, has past through the *Index Expurgatorius* of Quiroga, for having taught upon St. Luke, that we do not merit blessedness *ex condigno*.

Josseus Clictovaeus, an eminent doctor of Paris, and a regular of Chartres, does make all the same reflections upon those words of the Mass, *non estimator meriti, sed donator veniae*, against the merit of good works, which Waldensis had done before him. Which shews that our Reformers have only followed the sense which the most eminent divines of the Church of Rome had put upon those words. This is in his *Elucid. Ecclesiast.* p. 156, where he says that which Luther treating upon the same subject could not have said more.

Johannes Ferus, an eminent Cordelier and preacher at Mayence, has followed the same opinion, as may be seen in his pieces printed at Paris, with the privilege and approbation of the Sorbonne, in the year 1560. It is true, that following the style of the Inquisition they have since expunged those places out of his works. And probably this is the reason why there is another edition of them printed at Rome.

Claudius Espensæus, the famous bishop of Eureux, who was present as a doctor at the Council of Trent, does defend Erasmus's opinion, in his comment upon the second Epistle to Timothy, and 4th chapter, as conformable to the sentiments of St. Austin, declaring with that ancient doctor, that the crown of righteousness is so called, because it is just that God should grant that which he has in his mercy promised, although the thing be not due.

There is a work of Abbot Louis Blasius, who died in the year 1566, printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, under the name of Abbot Dacrianus. It is called *Speculum Monachorum*,

* In 2 Thom. q. 114. art. 1.

where he speaks in several places after such a manner, as shews that he was of an opinion directly opposite to merits of condignity. Thus he speaks of the faithful: "They do not," says he, "confidently place the hope of their salvation in the number, or in the merit of the good works which they do, but in the liberty of the children of God, which they have obtained by the blood of Jesus Christ."*

This is the history of what passed from the twelfth age till the Council of Trent, about the belief of merit of condignity. To draw any great advantage from it, I judge it is necessary to add here some considerations, which we may very naturally make upon it.

The first Consideration.

The first consideration, which one might make upon it is, that the Church of Rome has not been exempted from changes in the most important matters of religion. That therefore it tells us, with such an emphasis, of its immutability, is a mere illusion. In vain do they maintain, that an image of plaster work, which they have formerly gilt over, is of pure massy gold, since it is sufficient to undeceive the world, that by the breaking off only one finger of it, it is evident that it is nothing but plaster work gilt over. There are none but ignorant persons that can be abused by it. And certainly never was any thing more easy to be conceived than the change which we speak of. Ever since so great a man as Thomas Aquinas, and some others, did produce this new opinion, though they could not make it be received altogether, yet they have insensibly drawn in some orders to adhere to this opinion, and to admire their learning. The Sum of St. Thomas has insensibly been owned by the Popish divines, and they looked upon it as the sacred text, some ages ago. At last it has, in some measure, prevailed over Lombard, whose work had served as a text to an infinite number of divines from the twelfth to this present age. An eminent instance of what I say, is to be seen in the order of Cordeliers. All the world knows that Joannes Scotus was the first that thought of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. Nevertheless, the credit of this great man, and the pertinacious adhesion of the divines of his club, has almost subverted the Roman school upon this question. The Jacobins, who persist in the ancient opinion, have had

* T. 5. D. 16. p. 708.

much ado to defend themselves against the torrent, and the Council of Trent durst not decide a question clearer than the day, for fear of making a schism among the divines of her communion; the opinion of Joannes Scotus having been determined as an article of faith at the Council of Basil; which shews, that within the space of one hundred and twenty-three years, which passed from the death of Joannes Scotus to this Council, the greatest part of the divines had embraced this novelty; and the Sorbonne, which looks upon this Council as a General one, does make her doctors swear, that they will defend this belief, even to the loss of their blood. Thus did error, in a little time, make this great progress in the bosom of the Roman communion. And yet, after all this, they are continually buzzing in our ears the immutability of that Church in matters of faith.

The second Consideration.

The second consideration, which serves to comprehend the means whereby this change was effected, has respect to the Inquisition, which the Jacobins of the cabal of St. Thomas Aquinas were possessed of from the year 1258. One may see by a writing of the University of Paris, that they laid the greatest ground of the Pope's approbation of Thomas Aquinas's doctrine upon his canonizing him. But we know after what manner they have proceeded against the other orders themselves, when they have dared to oppose the sentiments of this new saint. How, since the Inquisition has come within their hands, they have made use of it to the best advantage, against such as had the courage to oppose the designs and definitions of the Popes. They have not forgotten also to make use of it to support the interests of their order, as far as they were able, in exterminating all such as should dare to contend with them in matter of religion. They know well enough, that before the tribunal of the Inquisition was erected, no opinion could gain ground so quickly. When persuasion only is made use of without outward force, it is a difficult thing for any new opinion to make any quick progress. There is contradicting, writing, disputing; this hinders the progress of error; but since force and violence were mixed with it, men hold their peace, and keep their opinion to themselves; there is need of a great deal of courage, and a great deal of consideration, publicly to maintain an opinion against him that is furnished with power to destroy you, and who makes his will the only rule

and measure of his proceedings. This is the character of the Inquisition, as may be seen in the Inquisitor's Directory published at Rome, towards the end of the last age. The people and knowing persons did not think themselves often obliged to go and contend with the divines, whom they looked upon as Novators ; as long as they saw that the orthodox opinions do always enjoy the prayers of the Church, as we very clearly see that those did, which respect the nature of good works, though they saw them opposed by those new disciples of Thomas Aquinas.

The third Consideration.

The third consideration which one might make upon the means whereby this change was effected, has respect to confession, by means of which, the monks did insensibly alter that belief which prevailed aforetime. The care which the monks took to possess themselves of the consciences of men, by rendering themselves masters and judges of their hearts in the tribunal of penance ; that great power which they had ever since the thirteenth age in directing men's consciences, maugre all the opposition of their own ordinary pastors, has given them occasion to instil into people the same sentiments concerning works meriting *de condigno*. And indeed, if one does carefully examine the matter, it will appear, first, that it is just from that time, that the monks have set so strange a value upon their works, as if, by that means, they were in a much greater degree of perfection, than other Christians are. Secondly, it appears, that it is from that time, that they have erected fraternities, by giving their votaries letters of association for all the merits of their convents. As the foundation of these fraternities was altogether new, so is it in vain to search for any such letters in antiquity, as those which we see in these last ages. Waldensis* does recite the form of these associations for the order of Carmelites, to which he did belong : “ We grant you the perpetual participation of whatsoever the mercy of our Saviour does vouchsafe to effect by our brethren.” M. de St. Amour does recite in his Journal, page 541, the form of association which they had in the order of the Augustines, by a grace of the general of that order in the year 1653. We may easily perceive how the last is much larger than the former. It would be a very silly thing to imagine that there

* Tom. de Sacramentalibus, tit. 20. cap. 93.

were any such forms of association in the time of St. Hilary, who said so expressly upon the parable of the wise virgins, which refused to give of their oil to the foolish ones,* “ That no man can be assisted by the works and merits of another.” The receiving of errors repugnant to antiquity, is an effect of the corruption of divinity in these last ages. And the drawing of such pernicious consequences from them, for to subject the people unto them, by pretending to associate them with themselves, is an effect of a monkish spirit.

The fourth Consideration.

A fourth consideration will evidently demonstrate the novelty of this proud doctrine of merit of condignity. It is true, the Popes have turned those words of Jesus Christ to St. Peter, “ Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,” into all senses. Gregory VII. found therein a right of freeing subjects from the oath of allegiance. Innocent III. found therein a right of granting a kind of general pardon to all such as would go to defend the Holy Land against the infidels, commanding the angels to receive them at the hour of their deaths, and to carry them into heaven without ever passing through purgatory. But ever since the conceit of the condignity of works has gained in the world, they have thereupon invented, that the saints having done a great many works of supererogation, they might make a great advantage of them, if they should make a fund of them, and the Popes who know how to manage them well, have found out a very good secret, how to render indulgences more plausible, by giving them so plausible a foundation. It is certain, if any thing in the world can be so, that indulgences are nothing else but a relaxation of those punishments, which the canons did prescribe to those who ought to undergo a public penance. The most knowing of the Roman school agree to it. It is certain, that in the first ages of the Church, this indulgence was granted at the prayer of those who were ready to suffer martyrdom: but since the conceit of the merit of condignity has prevailed, it is no more as it was; it is now an imputation of the satisfactions and merits of such as have suffered more than they deserved; and who have done more good works, than they were obliged to do. The Pope has gathered together this surplusage of satisfactions and of merits; he keeps the key of them; he

* Can. 21. in Matth. p. 591. [vol. 1. p. 795. Veron. 1730.]

opens them in the years of jubilee ; he opens them at his pleasure ; and gives of them what, how much, and to whom he pleases. Corrio has observed in his history of the Milanese, that Boniface VIII. sent an indulgence to Milan, of so uncertain an import, that it was granted,* neither to the contrite, nor to those that were confessed. In the year 1300, the 21st day of January, when the indulgence was given out at Rome, to which place the Lombards could not come, because of continual wars, Pope Boniface, at the intercession of Viscount John Galeasius, granted it to Milan in the same form as he had given it to Rome, *viz.* that every one under the dominion of that Viscount, although he was neither contrite nor confessed, should be absolved from any sin ; on condition that he remain ten days together in that city, and visit five churches every day and offer the first time two parts of the money that he might expend in his journey to Rome, two parts of which are to be bestowed towards the building of a church, and the third part to the Pope. These are the words of Corrio. Theodericus of Niem, bishop of Verd, relateth almost the same thing of Urban VI. This Pope, not content with the great offerings which were made in the churches of Rome by the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, English, and by those that were of the kingdoms and provinces under his obedience, he sent out his questors into several kingdoms, to sell his indulgence for that money which it might cost the people in their journey to Rome ; and thus he amassed together a large heap of wealth, because they absolved from all sins confessed, even without penance. This is a marvellous effect, but so marvellous that any one may be assured, that whosoever they were that have ever been the greatest persons, and most knowing in antiquity, not to speak at present of the Apostles, did never discover any thing of it by all the effort of their meditation and study. This truth was acknowledged by Antonius, Sylvester, Prieras, and by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in the last age.

The fifth Consideration.

The fifth consideration does respect not only that division which is among the Schoolmen about this matter (which is no very rare thing, no more than their opposition to the sentiments of the purest antiquity is), but that contradiction also,

* Nec contritis, nec confessis.

wherein one may see the writers of the Church of Rome, are with themselves about it. Can any one imagine a more ridiculous contradiction than that of St. Thomas Aquinas, and of his followers? They confess, that man has nothing in himself whereby he can merit, that there is need of an effectual grace for the conversion of any man, that this grace is given freely. It follows from hence, and it is the doctrine of St. Austin, that man being indebted to God for this grace which does push him forward to good works, and which does move him to every good action, he can never merit thereby. In the mean time, notwithstanding this principle which they lay down, they cease not to maintain, that the faithful do merit, properly speaking. Behold also another as palpable a contradiction about the same matter. They maintain, that man can make no pretence to the glory of heaven, without the promise which God has given him of it; they are forced to confess moreover, upon this foundation, that there is no proportion between good works and the glory of heaven. From these two principles it necessarily follows, that if God does give the glory of heaven to the faithful, it is purely of grace, and because he has promised it. Nevertheless, after their agreement in these two principles, they cease not to oppose the consequences of them, by maintaining that good works have properly the nature of true merits. This is what the Council of Trent has determined, in authorizing that ridiculous contradiction which the Thomists are guilty of.

The sixth Consideration.

Whatsoever corruption the Thomists have introduced in divinity, by their belief concerning the merit of good works, it is easy to understand, that they have not been so far able to subvert the reigning conceptions of the Latin Church, but that there is still remaining within the bosom of it, a great many persons which do retain the purest opinions. It is a truth which is easily known, because a great many famous doctors, and most eminent persons in that communion, do always vigorously oppose this novelty, and do maintain the ancient doctrine. I am even persuaded, that it is almost impossible, but that the greatest part of the people must continue in the ancient opinions, if they have had but the least knowledge of the Gospel: especially when they come to attend to the prayers which were in public use, and to that confession which they cause to be made for dying persons. In effect, whatso-

ever great thoughts one might grant them of those new saints, whose works have contributed most to the treasure of indulgences, there is need of but a very little common sense to understand, that the greatest saints dying with those protestations which they caused them to make at the very point of death (then especially obliged to speak sincerely in so principal and so important a circumstance of time), were either perfect hypocrites ; or, in fine, that they merited by this lying confession ; which are so many palpable and gross absurdities, that it is not at all necessary to confute them. We must confess then, that these disputes of the Thomists have been retained for some time in the chairs of the colleges, and agitated by the divines only, and that the people had then no part in them. Secondly, that since they are gone out from the universities, and have entered into the chairs and seats of the confessors, they have there been contradicted by divers excellent persons : which serves to defend the ancient doctrine, and to shew plainly the novelty of the other. Thirdly, that when they had very near prevailed in the Latin Church, it has always preserved in its public service, sentiments opposite to that which might pass for the common sentiment of the divines of its school. It is here, that we may safely apply the mark of St. Ambrose, that oftentimes the ears of the people are more chaste than the lips of the pastors ; and that which he says at another time, that the people may retain the orthodoxy, even then when they are led by pastors which are engaged in error.

The seventh Consideration.

We know that the Council of Trent has condemned the merit of congruity, that is to say, the opinion of a great many Schoolmen, who maintain, that works done before grace, do merit grace, if not absolutely, yet at least by a kind of agreeableness, to which God cannot refuse it. But to say the truth, one may very well wonder, why merit of congruity has been more unfortunate than that of condignity ; at least, if we look upon them as coming from the Schoolmen. There have been as many at least, who have defended the merit of congruity, as that of condignity. Almost all the school of Scotus defended merits of congruity, that school of Scotus which was so considered at the Council of Trent, that if the immaculate conception which the Scotists defended, was not established there into an article of faith, for fear of seeming to give a defer-

ence to the authority of the Council of Basil, which the Court of Rome looked upon as a cabal, or unlawful assembly, at least they left it in its possession by a particular article ; and there was some appearance, as if merits of congruity might have the same approbation. What then could have drawn this condemnation upon them ? It is no hard matter to guess what it was. On the one side, they had a mind to preserve the power of conferring grace to the sacrament of penance, and to other sacraments ; and they knew that this is a privilege that does return wholly to them that minister the sacraments, on whom grace does by this means depend. On the other side, they found no advantage in this opinion, not to say that it did visibly oppose the doctrine of St. Austin, and of the Councils and the Popes that had approved of it. But it was otherwise with the doctrine of merit of condignity. First, they could not renounce it without justifying the Reformation which Luther had commenced, by overthrowing the foundation of indulgences, which is the merit of condignity. Secondly, the Popes and the monks would visibly lose their credit. The Pope would lose his entire revenue of indulgences. The monks would lose all the fruit of their severities. For to speak what I think, the confidence which they repose in the merits of the ancient saints is small enough ; and I am persuaded that for one visionary who shall put any confidence in the merits of the Fathers of the desert of Thebais, who lived in the fifth age, one may find a hundred thousand which think of nothing but the merits of the Fathers of the neighbouring convent, which may sufficiently be seen by the fraternities, and by the letters, of which there are a great many forms among the religious. This was it that forced the Fathers of the Council to anathematize three sorts of persons, *viz.* Those that deny, that good works do truly merit the augmentation of grace ; those that deny, that they do truly merit eternal glory ; and those that deny, that they do merit the possession of eternal life. For the second article does clearly express the merit of condignity, which the Lutherans deny as strongly as they do the last article, which does in truth depend upon it, but of which the Council makes a branch by itself, because it would consider the dignity of the work, and the works themselves, before that it would consider that which they obtain of God.*

* Can. 32. Sess. 6. [Labbe, Concil. ut supra, vol. 14. p. 768.]

The eighth Consideration.

But, in fine, whatsoever determination was made at the Council of Trent upon this matter, I desire the reader to consider, that there always have been a great many Christians within the communion of the Church of Rome, who have only apparently followed the decrees of that Council; and who, after all, have followed the doctrines of the Gospel, and of antiquity. I say, moreover, that they have strongly opposed them, and that it was out of pure necessity that they revoked them at the hour of death. So true is it, that conscience cannot always be seduced by the errors of the understanding; it is true also, that when men are approaching before the throne of God's justice, it is difficult for them to preserve that spirit of pride which is in the Roman school. One can hardly produce a more lively proof of the truth of this reflection, than the instance of Cardinal Hosius, who presided at the Council of Trent under Pius IV. These are some of the expressions of his last will: "I approach the throne of thy grace, O Father of mercies, and of all consolation, to the end that I may obtain mercy, and find grace in thy sight. Whensoever it shall please thee to demand back again that which thou hast committed to me, into thy hands I resign my spirit; which if thou shouldst look upon as it is in itself, I confess it is not worthy to appear in the presence of thy Majesty, for it is full of all kinds of pollutions; but if thou hast respect for the blood of thy Son, wherein it has been washed and purified, and those bitter torments which he suffered for our sins, that he might render us acceptable in thy sight; they are worthy that for their sake thou shouldst give it eternal life, which he purchased at so great a price." He desires that God would not look upon him in himself, but in the face of Jesus Christ. "I am not worthy," says he, "that thou shouldst behold me with the eyes of thy majesty: but as it is most worthy, that for the sake of his death and passion, thou shouldst not only look upon me, but crown me also; it is therefore that I come unto thee, most dear Father, and that without any merits, but those inestimable ones of thy Son Jesus Christ, my Lord and my Redeemer. I bring thee the merit of that death, wherein alone I place all my hope and my confidence; that is my righteousness, my satisfaction, my redemption, and my propitiation. The death of my Lord is my merit." And after that, having

recited the words of St. Bernard in his sixty-first Sermon upon the Canticles, which I have cited before, he adds, speaking of the blood of Jesus Christ: “ Regard that price, for that price sake declare me worthy to be placed among the sheep at thy right hand.” See here what the conscience says, when it beholds its sins, and its good works; and it will never speak otherwise, especially at the hour of death, where it scatters away its illusions; except the Church of Rome does blot out of her books the questions which are made to dying persons, because they contain a clear and express abjuration of the doctrine of merits of condignity. And though the Indexes made by the order of the Council of Trent, have attempted to erase them out, yet they have hitherto never been able to do it in the Roman communion. And if the priests who ought to make use of them about dying persons, do suppress them, to accommodate themselves to the designs of the Council, and of the *Index Expurgatorius*, such, at least, as do not acknowledge the tribunal of the Inquisition, do retain this truth, as that which does afford all the consolation to dying persons that they can have.

THE TEXTS EXAMINED, WHICH PAPISTS CITE OUT OF
THE BIBLE, FOR THE PROOF OF THEIR DOCTRINE
OF MERITS.

THE doctrine of Merit, although it was a great occasion of that happy Reformation which was made by the first Protestants, from the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome, yet has of late been so refined, and new-modelled by some of that communion, that we and they are made to agree even in that point, which was, in a great measure, the cause of the first separation betwixt us.

We were wont to be charged with denying the necessity of good works, and that men's salvation does at all depend upon them. But now that objection is laid aside, and our greatest crime, as to this doctrine of Merit, is, that we charge those of that Church with what they do not hold, and pretend a difference, when both parties are of the same mind.

Now, that I may wipe off this scandal, which the Bishop of Condom and others are pleased to lay upon us, I shall endeavour to state the case fairly betwixt us, and then to shew that the Scriptures produced in defence of the doctrine of merit, which we find fault with, give no countenance at all unto it.

As to the stating the case aright, consider,

First, That we agree an eternal reward to become due upon the performance of such conditions, for which God has been pleased to promise to bestow it. Some of the Church of Rome (as will be shewn by and by) go further, and make the reward to depend upon something else besides God's promise; but they all agree it to be plain from Scripture, that God has promised it; and if so, then there is as much reason to expect it, upon the account of such a promise, as upon any other account whatsoever. For it would be contrary to God's most excellent nature; it would argue either want of power or righteousness in him, not to make good what he had promised.

So much therefore is on all hands maintained, both by them and us, that an eternal reward will certainly be bestowed,

where men take care to perform the conditions upon which it is promised.

Secondly, We agree good works to be the conditions, without which, an eternal reward can never be obtained. Although we do not set so high a value upon good works as some of the Church of Rome do, yet we go so far with them, as to assert them to be the means prescribed by God for the obtaining of salvation. We declare that "without holiness, no man shall see God," and that "with fear and trembling" we ought "to work out" our own happiness, and thereby teach us a great necessity of good works, as they who place so much trust and confidence in them.

In the beginning of the Reformation, such mighty things were spoken of faith, that some of the Church of Rome imagined, that the first Reformers did wholly exclude good works from having any thing to do in man's salvation. Whereas they were so far from thinking any thing of this nature, that they accounted faith itself a good work; and when they explained the nature thereof, they always discoursed of it as "working by love," and productive of an holy and virtuous behaviour. The reason why they magnified faith at such a rate, was the same with what happened in the beginning of the Church in the Apostles' time. For as the Apostle St. Paul then found many to rely too much upon legal performances and Pharisaical observances, so likewise did the first Reformers in the beginning of the Reformation, find those of the Church of Rome to depend above measure upon external performances, such as alms-giving, pilgrimages, abstinence from meats, &c. To wean them off from doing which, they imitated the same Apostle in extolling faith, and the merits of a crucified Saviour. Although at the same time they likewise taught, that belief in Christ would avail them nothing, unless they added thereunto an holy and virtuous conversation.

So far therefore we are willing to go along with those of the Church of Rome, as to assert good works to be so far forth the cause of an eternal reward, that it cannot be obtained without them.

Thirdly, We agree God's grace to be necessary to enable us to do any good work. Although there have been found amongst those of the Church of Rome, such as have run into Pelagius's error, in asserting works done without God's grace and assistance to be good: yet these have been but few, and

such their opinion has, as Bellarmine* relates, been condemned by two of their own Popes, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. The generality do affirm it to be necessary, in order to render them capable of any reward, that they be adopted the sons of God, and have his Spirit dwelling in them, for enabling them to perform any sort of virtuous actions. And this is what we assert as well as they.

Fourthly, We are ready to affirm it to be agreeable to God's wisdom and goodness, to bestow a reward upon good works, although he had never promised it. For good works are performed by the assistance of God's grace, they are done with great difficulty ; they carry a resemblance to what is always inherent in the Divine nature, they flow from the love of God, and are pleasing and acceptable unto him. For which reason it may well become so wise and gracious a being, as God is, to bestow some signal mark of his favour upon them. For by this means, he shews the distinction betwixt good and bad deeds, he encourageth the love of virtue and holiness, and gives public testimony of his pure and excellent nature, in approving only those things which are worthy to be approved by him.

Fifthly, We allow that the word *merit* may be used in an improper sense, so as to signify to procure or obtain, without ever considering the worth of the person, or the work itself. For thus several ecclesiastical writers, as well as others, have used it ; and when the Fathers call good works *merits*, as they often do, they mean no more thereby than that they are acceptable to God, and will procure a reward for those who perform them. In which sense, Protestants have used the word in their public confessions.† And although when we speak of good works, we forbear now-a-days to use the word merit, yet it is not because we dissent from the Fathers in the use of it, according to the more general signification, but because they of the Church of Rome have used it in a signification which we can no ways allow of. For,

Sixthly, *Merit*, in the more proper signification, importeth action, or actions, to which there is a reward in justice due, *viz.* when it doth not flow merely from the kindness of the giver, but from respect to the worthiness of the action, so as

* Bell. de Just. lib. 5. c. 13. [c. 12.] [vol. 4. p. 570. 571. Prag. 1721.]

† Wirtemberg. Confess. de Bon. Op. August. Confess. Artic. 6. [Sylloge, Conf. p. 125. Oxon. 1827.]

that the doer has reason to complain of injustice done him, if it be not bestowed upon him.

Now it is this signification of the word, which has given occasion to such disputes between us, and them of the Church of Rome, concerning the doctrine of merit of good works. But yet we do not differ alike from them all. For,

1. There have been at all times in that Church, such as have with us disclaimed all kind of *merit* in this last sense, and have frankly owned that by grace they were saved, and not upon the account of their own works. Amongst whom we may reckon three of their own Popes, as Gregory the Great,* who affirms that the “best men will find no merit in their best actions.” Urban IV. who in a commentary upon the *Miserere*,† has these expressions, “I do not beg for my own merit’s sake, or for thy justice or my own—or for my work’s sake, wherein I have miserably gone astray, but for thy great mercy.” And Adrian VI.‡ who positively asserts “our merits to be a broken reed, which pierce the hand of him that leans upon them ; and that our best actions are mixed with impurities, and when we have done all that we can, we are unprofitable servants.”§ As well as others, both before and after the Council of Trent. Now with these we heartily agree, and by what they have declared in this matter, do think we have a mighty advantage of such in the Church of Rome, as pretend tradition for their doctrine of merit, as they do for other things, since it is so easy to shew them, that nothing like it was known in the first ages of the Church, and that many great men of their own communion, have all along taught contrary to it.

2. There have been others, who, although they seem to make a reward to depend wholly upon God’s promise in Christ, yet at the same time will needs have it, that good works may be truly said to be meritorious of it. Thus Bellarmine,|| after he has proved at large good works to be meritorious, has a chapter on purpose to shew, that God’s promise is requisite to make them so. Thus the Bishop of Condom declares it out of the Council of Trent, to be the sense of the

* Moral. 1. 9, 2. [vol. 1. p. 288. Par. 1705.]

† Discourse concerning the Merit of Good Works, p. 7.

‡ Adrian de Sacr. Euch. f. 61.

§ Bishop Usher’s Challenge. Dr. Still. Exam. of the Council of Trent. Gerhard. Confess. Cath.

|| De Just. 1. 5. c. 14. [ut supra, p. 573, &c.]

Catholic Church,* “that eternal life ought to be proposed to the children of God, both as a grace, which is mercifully promised to them by the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and as a recompense which is faithfully rendered to their good works and merits, in virtue of his promise.—And that God will have those gifts which he bestows upon them, to be their merits.” Thus likewise the Representer makes the good Catholic to affirm,† “that through the merits of Christ, the good works of a just man proceeding from grace, are so acceptable to God, that through his goodness and promise, they are truly meritorious of eternal life.”

Now as to these, all that we can charge them with, is with speaking improperly. We say, as well as they, that the reward depends upon God’s promise, but then we say likewise, that this destroys the nature of true merit. For true merit consists in having, upon the account of the worthiness of the action, a just right and title to a reward; so as that, although he had no promise thereof, a man might lawfully complain of injustice done him, should it not be bestowed upon him: but he who wholly depends upon a promise for what is bestowed, cannot be properly said to have such a title as this is. For it is the promise which gives such an one a title to the reward, and not his own worthiness, which is that which is always supposed in the nature of true merit. And therefore to say, as the Representer does, “that good works, through God’s goodness and promise, are truly meritorious,” is the same thing as to say, that God’s promise of a reward does not make good works to be in themselves deserving of a reward, although there had been no promise made of it. Which is certainly a very improper way of speaking. But yet we should be glad, had we nothing more to charge any of the Church of Rome with, as to this doctrine of merit, but impropriety of speech. Whereas to our great trouble, we find others gone so far as,

3. To assert, “That God’s promise is indeed annexed to the works of just men, but yet that belongeth no way to the reason of the merit, but cometh rather to the works which are already not worthy only, but also meritorious.” Thus Vasquez,‡ with a great deal more to the same purpose, in several parts of his writings. Which is agreeable to what Bellar-

* Expos. of the Doct. sect. 7. † Papist Misrepr. and Repr. ch. 6.

‡ Vasquez Comment. in 1, 2. qu. 114. disp. 214. c. 8.

mine, asserts,* *viz.* "that the good works of just persons do merit eternal life condignly, not only by reason of God's covenant and acceptation, but also by reason of the work itself: so that in a good work proceeding from grace, there may be a certain proportion and equality unto the reward of eternal life." As likewise to that of Cajetan,† "that the good works of just men are meritorious of eternal life condignly, although there were no divine compact," &c.

Now this is the doctrine we find so much fault with, and that upon these following accounts :

1. Because we are bound to pay all manner of obedience to God, although we were not sure of any reward hereafter, and that upon the account of our creation, and that constant supply of outward blessings, such as life, health, &c. which God is pleased to afford us; and likewise, because such is the nature of all virtuous actions, that they do really tend to promote even our present ease and advantage. For where we are out of gratitude, present interest, and upon the account of God's supreme authority over us, bound to make our actions as good as we can, although there were no future reward: in such a case, how can we be said truly to merit any thing further from him, than what we at present enjoy ?

2. Because, although many of our works are good, yet many of them are evil too; and if God should deal strictly with us, instead of rewarding our good deeds, he might, if he pleased, punish our evil ones. Such indeed is his mercy, that for the sake of a crucified Saviour, he is willing to allow of repentance for what is past: but since nothing which we can do could have merited even this at his hands, much less can our best actions, when our transgressions are so many, give us a title to an eternal reward.

3. Because even our best actions are imperfect, and stand in need of God's clemency and forgiveness to cover their defects; and then what just claim can we have to a reward upon their account?

4. Because, whatever is praiseworthy in us, is not performed by our own power and skill, but by the assistance of God's grace. God may, if he pleases, reward his own gifts, but it would be no good manners in us to pretend that he was bound to do it, or that his own gifts can properly be called our merits.

* Bell. de Just. l. 5. c. 17. [ut supra, p. 579.]

† Cajet. in l. 2. qu. 11. part. 3.

5. Because there is no equality, or proportion, betwixt the best actions of us finite imperfect creatures, and the eternal favour of an infinitely wise and gracious God.

Having thus set down what in the doctrine of merit we find fault with, and for what reasons, I know it will be objected, that in this case I oppose only the opinion of private men, and that the Council of Trent, which is the standard of true Catholic doctrine, has taught otherwise.

I answer :

1. That since there has been such in the Church of Rome, and those men of great note too, who have taught this doctrine of merit, and since it has had, and has, I doubt, still a very great influence upon several of that communion, so as to make them place too much religion in external performances, it is very requisite it should be opposed, whether the Council of Trent teach it or no.

2. That if the Council of Trent should be supposed not to have taught this doctrine in express terms, yet there is great reason to believe, that it did at least intend to give great countenance unto it. For,

First, The Council knew well enough, that such a doctrine was maintained by some of that Church, that the practices thereupon ensuing, were very scandalous, that the first Reformers clamoured mightily against it, and therefore, unless they had had a mind to countenance it, why did they not give the world satisfaction by declaring expressly against it? An. 1354, we find one Guido, an Austin friar, for holding this doctrine, sentenced by the Chancellor and the Theological faculty of Paris, to make this following recantation : “ I said against a batchelor of the order of Predicant friars, in conference with him,* that a man merits eternal life by way of condignity, *i. e.* that he would be injured if it were not bestowed upon him. And I writ that God would do him an injury in such a case. And this opinion I then approved, I now revoke it as false, heretical, and blasphemous.” Now why did not the Council take some such course as this was, to express their dislike of such a doctrine? Or, since they were so free of their anathemas, if they did not approve it themselves, or were not desirous that others should, why did they not anathematise all such as held good works to be truly meritorious? But they were so far from doing this, that,

* Biblioth. Patr. tom. 14. p. 347. Edit. Colon.

Secondly, We find an anathema, denounced against him who asserts, “ the good works of any justified person to be so much the gifts of God, as not to be also the merits of the same justified person ; or that he who is justified by the good works which are done by him through the grace of God,* and merit of Jesus Christ, of whom he is a living member, does not truly merit increase of grace, eternal life, increase of glory.” Whatever may have been their opinion, who did make this canon, or however they may have expressed themselves in other places, it is plain that the manner of expressing themselves in this canon, is sufficient enough to make the generality of people believe, that they held good works to be meritorious in the strictest sense. They do not indeed explain what they mean by true merit ; but because they have not done it, this is enough to make it suspicious that they at least intended it should be understood according to the most proper and most usual signification.

And that it has been thus generally taken, may appear from these following observations.

1. That several divines of the Church of Rome, some of which lived in the time of the Council,† have shewn, that “ truly to merit” must be opposed to any improper signification of the word.

2. That in the *Index Expurgatorius*, set out according to the order of the Council by Cardinal Quiroga, An. 1584, several passages, which deny the merit of good works, are commanded to be blotted out of several books, as more particularly out of the works of Erasmus and Johannes Ferus.‡ But that which is most remarkable in this case, and which has been taken notice of by several learned men who have treated of this subject, is, that out of a public office of the Church, these following questions and answers were by the said Index ordered to be expunged.

“ Q. Dost thou believe that thou shalt come to heaven, not by thy own merits, but by the virtue and merit of Christ’s passion ?

“ A. I do believe it.

“ Q. Dost thou believe that Christ died for our salvation, and that none can be saved by their own merits, or any other way, but by the merits of his passion ?

* Sess. 6. can. 32. [Labbe, Concil. vol. 14. p. 768. Lut. Par. 1672.]

† Dr. Stilling. the Council of Trent exam. p. 59, 60.

‡ Bishop Usher’s Challenge, p. 421. Dr. Stilling. Council of Trent examin. p. 61. Gerhard. Confess. Cath. 1. 2. p. 3. art. 23. c. 8. p. 769.

“*A. I do believe it.*”

3. That the Rhemists,* who when, for the benefit of good Catholics, they by public permission explain the Scriptures, must be supposed to do it according to the sense of the Council, do maintain the merit of good works in the strictest sense. For they assert, “ that man’s works, done by Christ’s grace, do condignly, or worthily deserve eternal joy. And that all good works, done by God’s grace, after the first justification, be truly and properly meritorious, and fully worthy of everlasting life, and that thereupon heaven is the due and just stipend,† crown or recompense, which God, by his justice, oweth to the persons so working by his grace. For he rendereth, or repayeth heaven,” say they, “ as a just judge, and not only as a merciful giver, and the crown which he payeth is not only of mercy, or favour, or grace, but also of justice.”

4. That several, even of late years, when they give us the sense of the Councel,‡ about this matter, do expressly say, that the Council did intend to establish such a merit of good works, as bears a proportion to the glory of heaven.

These observations make it evident, what has been generally thought to be the sense of the Council of Trent as to this matter ; and all that can be replied, in defence of the Council, is what the Bishop of Condom has picked out of the Council’s manner of expressing itself, *viz.*

That although the Council asserts good works to be meritorious, yet,

1. It supposeth those works to be done by the assistance of God’s grace.

2. It proposeth an eternal reward, as a recompense, which is faithfully rendered to men’s good works in virtue of God’s promise.

I answer :

1. That although we should allow the assistance of God’s grace, not to destroy the nature of true merit, as it really does ; yet even good works performed by God’s assistance, cannot be said to be truly meritorious ; because they are still imperfect by reason of that mixture of human infirmity which still accompanies them. Were they the effects of God’s grace alone, this might give them a title to a reward ; but that alloy which human weakness gives them, abates their value, and makes the free grace of God to be absolutely necessary for the acceptance

* Rhem. Annot. in Luc. xx. 35. [Fulke’s Confutat. p. 125. 2. Lond. 1589.] † Idem. in 2 Tim. iv. 8. [Ibid. p. 389. 2.]

‡ Dr. Still. Counc. of Trent exam. p. 73.

of them (although done by his assistance) to that reward which they were not otherwise deserving of.

2. That since the Council proposeth an eternal reward as a recompence, which is faithfully rendered to men's good works in virtue of God's promise, they either dealt dishonestly in afterwards establishing good works to be meritorious, without so much as making mention of the promise, and thereby giving countenance to the opinion of those who held good works to be in their own natures truly meritorious; or else, if they were sincere, they expressed themselves in very improper terms; since the dependence upon God's promise for a reward, does (as we before observed) wholly destroy the nature of true merit.

3. That we do much rejoice if any of the Church of Rome are sincerely and truly of the same mind with us, as to this doctrine of merit, or that they can any way shew the Council of Trent to have said nothing about it, but what we teach. But it is evident, that several of that Church, and those men of great authority, have been of another opinion themselves, and likewise thought the Council of Trent to have taught otherwise about it than we do. And therefore the Bishop of Condom, and others, are much to be blamed for charging us with misrepresenting their Council as to this point, since we lay nothing to its charge but what we can sufficiently prove to have been maintained by those who have both as much right to interpret, and as much reason to understand the Council's meaning, as they can pretend to have.

4. That although these new modellers, when they speak of good works being meritorious, according to the sense of the Council of Trent, do intermix something concerning the promise of God, as if it were necessary to make them so, yet they never explain to us the nature of true merit, they never in express terms tell us (as they ought to do) that good works in themselves are not truly meritorious of a reward, but (as the Council of Trent before them) they use such ambiguous and doubtful expressions as may both enable them to defend themselves; as if they held nothing more than what we hold; and at the same time give countenance to the doctrine of merit in the most proper and strictest sense.

5. That the faith and practice of the generality of the Church of Rome, in relation to purgatory, indulgences, works of supererogation, penance, &c. (all which have a near relation to this doctrine of merit), are still as false and scandalous

as ever, and therefore it is much to be suspected, that the doctrine of good works being in themselves truly meritorious, is likewise now as generally believed, and as much thought to be the doctrine of the Council of Trent, as any other of their false doctrines.

Having thus cleared ourselves from the imputation of laying that to the charge of those of the Church of Rome, which, as is pretended, they do not hold, I shall now proceed to shew that the Scriptures produced by Bellarmine and others upon this occasion, do give no countenance to the forementioned doctrine of merit, which we find so much fault with.

Now the texts of Scripture which are quoted upon this occasion, being very numerous, I shall choose to follow Bellarmine's method, who has reduced them under several heads, and endeavour to shew, that the inferences which he makes from them, are false and absurd.

The first head of Scriptures is of such, where eternal life is called reward or wages.

Math. v. 12. "Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

Math. xx. 8. "Call the labourers, and give them their hire."

From whence it is urged, that if eternal life be properly called a reward of wages, then may good works, upon which it is bestowed, be rightly styled merits.

I answer :

1. That wages or reward does indeed, according to the strictest sense, denote a proportion betwixt the work done, and what is bestowed ; but according to the more loose signification of the word, nothing more is meant than that some wished for and expected advantage does accrue to another upon his performance of such and such conditions, although there be no proportion betwixt such an advantage, and the performance of them, but the bestowing of it does wholly depend upon the bounty of him that gives it. Which distinction is approved of by St. Paul, when he makes a difference (as he does Rom. iv. 4.) betwixt a reward of grace and a reward of debt. And therefore we may as well say, that because the word *to buy* does commonly suppose a price, either given, or to be given, therefore it is so to be interpreted in that passage of Isaiah, chap. lv. 1. "Come, buy wine and milk without money and without price :" or that Nebuchadnezzar, that wicked king, did really merit something from God, because it is said, Ezek. xxix. 19, that he gave him "Egypt as wages for his army:"

as that wherever the word *reward* or *wages* is found, there must necessarily be an equality betwixt it, and those good actions, of which, by the grace and favour of God, it is made the consequent, when otherwise it would not at all have belonged to them.

2. As to the parable of the labourers, it is so far from countenancing the doctrine of merit, that it directly tends to overthrow it. For,

(1.) If the hire, here spoken of, was bestowed in proportion to the labourer's work, how came it to pass, that he who came early into the vineyard, received no greater wages, than he who worked but one hour?

(2.) The design of the parable is (as Jansenius,* a popish writer has observed), to shew that in the last day, those who were here last, should be accounted first, *i. e.* that the Apostles and others, who seemed men of mean condition, shall be preferred even before the Scribes and Pharisees; and that the Gentiles, who were last converted, shall be made equal to the Jews, who were first called to work in the vineyard of the Lord, and had the Gospel first preached to them. All which tends to set forth the goodness and liberality of God, and at the same time to suppress the vain conceits of such, who might be apt to rely too much upon their own merits.

3. It is fit that we here observe, that an eternal reward is in Scripture styled an inheritance; Col. iii. 24, “Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for we serve the Lord Christ.” Now as it is an inheritance, it depends upon the free gift of God, whose children we are by adoption, and consequently it cannot be reckoned as a debt that is properly due unto us, upon the account of our works. Bellarmino† indeed will needs have it both to be an inheritance, and a debt due to us upon the account of our works, because it is more honourable for us, he saith, “to receive something upon the account of our works, than wholly to depend upon the promise of God for it.” In answer to whom it may be returned, that we ought not to consider what would be most honourable for us, as how things in their own nature, or according to God's appointment, are.

We find it impossible that our best deeds should be truly meritorious of an eternal reward, and then we must not go

* Jansen. Conc. Evang. [par. 3. p. 267. Lovan. 1571.]

† Bell. de Just. l. 5. c. 3. [ut supra, p. 553.]

about to assert that they are meritorious, because it would be more honourable for us if they were. It is honour enough for us, that God is pleased to take pity of us when we do not deserve it ; and to make us partakers of an inestimable reward, which we have no pretence to. And therefore we ought to give him the glory thereof, to whom it is due, and as long as we are happy, not be so arrogant as to pretend that our own works are the meritorious cause thereof.

Another head is of such Scriptures, wherein the heavenly reward is said to be given to men according to the measure and proportion of their works and labour.

Psal. lxii. 12 : " For thou renderest to every man according to his work."

Matth. xvi. 27 : " For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels ; and then he shall reward every man according to his works."

Luke vi. 38 : " With the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again."

Rom. ii. 6 : " Who will render to every man according to his deeds."

1 Cor. iii. 8 : " And every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour."

Gal. vi. 8 : " For he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption ; but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting."

Rev. xxii. 12 : " And behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me, to give to every man as his work shall be."

From which Scriptures it is inferred, that since they assert a reward to be given according to the measure of every one's work, therefore in the giving the reward, respect is had not only to the promise, or liberality, or indulgence of God, but likewise to the dignity and efficacy of the works themselves.

I answer :

1. That Bellarmine does in this inference suppose, that in giving reward, respect is had to the promise, as well as to the efficacy of the works. Now if he meant thereby, that the reward does at all depend upon God's promise, and that without a promise, no claim could have been made to it, then does he at the same time as he would establish the merit of good works, destroy it. For where there is true merit, there he who gives it, was bound to have given it, whether he had promised it before or no.

2. That if all the fore-mentioned places could be interpreted

(as all they cannot, although some of them may), with respect only to good works, and not to bad ones also ; then might the reward, said to be given to every one according to his works, be considered, with respect to those several degrees of glory, which good men shall be made partakers of in another life. As God has, out of his infinite liberality, been pleased to promise an eternal reward, so has he likewise taken care, that they who make the greatest improvement in virtue and goodness, shall be received into a more happy estate, than they who have made less. (Thus the Apostle, 1 Cor. iii. 8, discoursing of the several ways, by which the first preachers of the Gospel had been useful, saith, that “one planteth, and another watereth, but both these were one,” *i. e.* had the same excellent design in hand, *viz.* to make men converts unto Christianity, and to establish them in the most holy faith ; and then adds, “And every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour ;” *i. e.* as every one has been more serviceable in the ministry, so shall his reward be greater.) But then, here is nothing of merit in the case : for both the lesser degrees of glory, as well as the greater, depend upon God’s establishment ; and although this be an excellent motive to make us more industrious to serve and please God, yet we have no reason to value ourselves upon any such account. For although he should be pleased, for such our industry, to bestow some of the higher degrees of glory upon us, yet we did not deserve even the lesser at his hands.

3. That although some of the fore-mentioned passages, having regard only to men’s good works, may be interpreted with respect to the different degrees of glory in another world ; yet there are other, which have respect to men’s bad deeds, as well as to their good ones : such is that in Matthew xvi. 27, “And then he shall reward every man according to his work.” For our Saviour having, in the fore-part of the verse, declared his coming to judgment, “For the Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels,” he immediately adds, “And then he shall reward every man according to his works ; *i. e.* as it is expressed, John v. 29, “And shall come forth ; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.”

Now if the fore-mentioned passages are considered, with respect to evil, as well as good deeds, then they do only denote that different success which good and bad men will have in the

other life : the former of which will be eternally happy, the latter eternally miserable. But this wholly depends upon God's decrees ; and however sinners may be said to merit damnation, there is nothing here implied to be in man, which can any ways be said truly to merit so inestimable a reward, as is prepared for such as live holy lives.

Good deeds, it is true, may be compared with their own reward, as well as with bad deeds. But these places of Scripture do not so much consider them as compared with their own reward, as with bad deeds ; and therefore all that they intimate, is, that in the other world, the event will not be alike to the good and to the bad, but that as has been every one's behaviour here, so shall he be either punished, or rewarded hereafter. And therefore, that was a good distinction of Pope Gregory : "That it is one thing to reward a man according to his works, and another to reward him according to the merit of his works, or for the sake of his works." To reward one according to the merit of works, or for the sake of works, denotes some proportion betwixt the reward and works ; but to reward according to works, signifies no more than that things will not happen out alike to all, that all will not be saved, nor all damned, but that all good men will be saved, and all wicked and impenitent sinners damned.

A third argument fetched from Scripture, for the proof of good works being meritorious, is deduced from such places as do declare an eternal reward to be so bestowed upon good works, that they place the very reason, why eternal life is bestowed, in the good works themselves.

Matth. xxv. 34, 35, &c. "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

"For I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink, I was a stranger," &c.

And in the same chapter, ver. 21 : "Because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things ; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Rev. vii. 14 : "These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Ver. 15 : "Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple ; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them."

"In these places," saith Bellarmine, "the reason of the reward is declared to be the doing of good works, therefore they are meritorious."

I answer;

First, That in the first passage, "Come, ye blessed," &c. the reward spoken of is called an inheritance, for it is said, "Come, and inherit the kingdom." Now, as I before observed, good men being Christ's children by adoption, and their reward being their inheritance, it depends upon God's bounty towards them, and not their own merit. And this the elect themselves are so sensible of, that even in this chapter they seem to be amazed at God's loving-kindness towards them, as knowing that all the good which they could do, bore no proportion to that immense reward which was promised to be bestowed upon them.

Secondly, That although Bellarmine, in that other passage of St. Matthew, inserts the word *because*; "Because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler," &c. Yet is not any such word to be found in the Greek text, nor in our translation. And therefore the reason for his grounding his argument for merit upon that passage, is wholly taken away.

Thirdly, That in the passage quoted out of the Revelation, "These are they which came out of great tribulation, therefore are they before the throne of God," &c. Bellarmine leaves out "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb;" which words do plainly denote Christ's merits to be necessary for the rendering their good actions acceptable to God, and consequently that they were not meritorious in themselves.

Fourthly, That these particles, *for*, *because*, do not always denote one thing to be the true and proper cause of another, but only the connexion that is betwixt one thing and another. Thus, 1 Tim. i. 13, "But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief." Now no man can assert the faults of infidels, committed through ignorance, to be the immediate cause of God's mercy towards them. No more from these passages, where there is only declared a connexion betwixt good deeds and an eternal reward, ought it to be concluded that the former are the meritorious cause of the latter. They are such things as must precede an eternal reward. They are the conditions upon which it is promised to be bestowed, and so far forth they may be reckoned the cause thereof, that it

cannot be obtained without them. But they cannot truly be said to be the cause thereof, so as that it does depend upon them as a necessary effect. Neither do the fore-mentioned particles, which do only connect good deeds and an eternal reward together, and shew one to be the consequent of the other, at all denote any such thing.

The fourth argument for the proof of our good deeds being meritorious, is fetched from such Scriptures, as do declare that a reward in justice ought to be given to men's good deeds.

2 Thess. i. 4 : "So that we ourselves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye endure."

Ver. 5 : "Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be accounted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer :"

Ver. 6 : "Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompence tribulation to them that trouble you ;"

Ver. 7 : "And to you who are troubled, rest with us.

2 Tim. iv. 7 : "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

Ver. 8 : "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day."

Heb. vi. 10 : "For God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love."

Now as to these and the like places, where mention is made of God's righteousness, and that, as a just judge, he will reward the actions of righteous persons, it may be replied,

That God may be said, as a just judge, to reward such actions, not because such actions do in themselves deserve any such reward, but,

First, Because our Saviour has merited it for us. Although there are no merits in us, yet there are in our Saviour. He by his death and passion has made an atonement for our transgressions, and has established in his blood a new covenant betwixt God and us ; and therefore eternal life being the purchase of his sufferings for us, God may in justice be said to give us it, although what we do ourselves, be no ways deserving of it.

Secondly, Because God has promised to bestow an eternal reward upon such good actions. He is said to be just and righteous, who keeps his promises. Now God has solemnly promised that he will bestow an everlasting reward upon all

such as behave themselves dutifully towards him, and live up to the conditions of the Gospel ; and thereby, as St. Augustine* speaks, has made “himself their debtor, not by receiving any thing, but by promising.” And therefore they who do behave themselves as they ought to do, have a right and title to such a reward, but it is only upon the account of God’s promise, and not upon the account of their own good deeds. For should God, even after he had promised a reward, refuse to bestow it, he would indeed (what it is impossible to suppose of him) act contrary to his most excellent nature, and must needs be thought to want much of that perfection which is always inherent in him ; and men could not any longer entertain those worthy apprehensions of him as they did formerly, but at the same time, they could not complain of any injury done them, because, since they did not deserve to have any such promise made to them, neither could they merit to have it observed after it was made.

In this, therefore, consists God’s justice, in giving us a reward, not in that we could oblige him to it by our best performances, but in that he has obliged himself to it by promise, which it would be contrary to his Divine perfections not to make good.

The fifth argument, to prove good works to be meritorious, is fetched from those Scriptures, where eternal life is promised to good works.

Matth. xix. 17 : “If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.”

Ver. 29 : “And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name’s sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.”

1 Tim. iv. 8 : “Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.”

James i. 12 : “Blessed is the man that endureth temptation ; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.”

In these places, saith Bellarmine, “a promise being made with the condition of doing something, does not only make the thing promised to be due upon the account of such a promise,

* Aug. in p. 83. *Debitorem Dominus ipse se fecit, non accipiendo, sed promittendo.*

but likewise that he who performs the work, may be said to have merited the thing promised, and to have just reason to demand it, as what does of right belong to him."

I answer :

1. That Bellarmine himself, in this place, is so modest, as not positively to affirm, that where there is a promise, there can be any true merit. All that he here asserts, is, that he who performs the work may be said to have merited the thing promised. Now we think it very improper to affirm, that any one can be said truly to merit what without a promise he could never have obtained.

2. Although in these places, a promise is made to several performances, yet who ever fulfilled the conditions to which they are made? Who ever has kept the commandments? Who ever has been godly? Who ever has endured temptation after that manner, and to that degree, as to dare to affirm the reward, even upon the account of God's promise, to be his due? After we have done the best we can, we shall find our performances to be very weak and imperfect, and that we have reason, daily, to put up that petition to God Almighty, "Forgive us our trespasses." And if so, how kind soever God may have been in promising us an inestimable reward, yet since, upon the account of our many failings, we cannot come up to the conditions upon which he has promised it, we have but little reason to pretend to merit it; especially since,

3. All our best actions, although performed by God's assistance, bear no proportion to what he has been pleased to promise us. Had God made us no promise of a reward, we were bound upon the account of our creation, and those mercies which we daily receive from him, to have served him according to the best of our power; should then our good deeds be never so perfect, they would be abundantly recompensed, even in this life. What equality then betwixt the actions of finite creatures, and the eternal kindness of an infinite God in the world to come?

To promise us anything, destroys the nature of true merit; but to promise so vast a reward, and to such who cannot exactly perform the conditions upon which it is promised, sets us at a greater distance from it.

The sixth argument, to prove good works to be meritorious, is fetched from those Scriptures where mention is made of good men being worthy of a reward.

Luke x. 7: "The labourer is worthy of his hire."

2 Thess. i. 5 : "That ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye also suffer."

Rev. iii. 4 : "Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments, and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy."

"In these and the like places," says Bellarmine, "to be worthy of a reward signifies to merit it."

I answer :

That to be worthy, is of a much larger signification than to merit. For to merit a reward, signifies (as has been shewn) to do something betwixt which and the reward there may be some equality or proportion. But to be worthy of it, may denote no more than the performance of such conditions, unto which, by the kind acceptance of the donor, it is made to belong, although there be no equality betwixt it, and the performance of such conditions. When God is pleased so to assist us with his grace, as that we perform what is acceptable in his sight, and what he has thought fit to reward, then may we be said to be worthy of such a reward, because he has made us to be so. Hence St. Bernard,* "we are worthy by his dignation, not by our own dignity." But could we have been said truly to have merited it, what we had done must have been of our own strength and power, and we must have done it in that degree of perfection, as that without any promise from God, we might have justly challenged it as our due from him.

The seventh and last argument mentioned by Bellarmine, for the proof of merit, is fetched from such Scriptures, where God is said to be a just judge, and no accepter of persons.

Rom. ii. 11 : "There is no respect of persons with God."

Gal. ii. 6 : "God accepteth no man's person."

1 Pet. i. 17 : "And if ye call on the Father, who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work," &c.

Acts x. 34 : "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons."

"For then," saith Bellarmine, "there is respect had to persons, when a judge gives a reward without merits, or a greater reward where there are few merits, and therefore God in the retribution of rewards, considers men's merits, and according to the diversity of their merits, assigns the mansions of eternal glory."

* Bern. de Ded. Eccl. Ser. 5.—*Illiud dignatione, non nostra dignitate.*
[vol. 1. p. 2289. Par. 1839.]

I answer :

1. That as to the distribution of rewards, no judge can properly be said to be an accepter of persons, who gives any one more than he deserves, unless he were obliged to the contrary, or did another an injury, by defrauding him that had more merits of what was his due, to give to him that had less. Now if, in the fore-mentioned passages, God be considered with respect to the final distribution of rewards according to men's works, if he shall bestow a reward far surpassing all their best actions, how was he obliged to the contrary ?

He would indeed act contrary to his own truth and faithfulness, should he not bestow such a reward, because he has promised it. But what can forbid him to distribute his own gifts as he pleaseth ?

And as for his doing another an injury, by bestowing upon any one more than he deserves, this cannot be ; because he has an eternal reward in store for all such (how many soever they be) who perform the conditions, upon which, out of mere grace and favour, he has made it to become due.

2. That in most of the fore-mentioned passages, if not in all, where God is said to be "no accepter of persons," respect is had not so much to the final distribution of rewards according to men's works, as to his calling the Gentiles to be made partakers of the benefits of the Gospel.

The Jews knew themselves to have been God's peculiar people ; they believed the promise of the Messiah to belong only to them, and therefore were wont to despise others who were not of the stock of Abraham as well as themselves. But at our Saviour's coming, the partition wall was broken down, and God declared to be no accepter of persons, in that all persons, of what quality or nation soever, were alike capable of being made members of the new covenant in Christ.

Having thus explained those texts which are brought by Bellarmine and others, to prove good works to be truly meritorious, and shewn that they give no countenance to any such doctrine, it were as easy to shew, that they have as much abused Antiquity in this matter, as they have the Scriptures ; but my business being only to vindicate the Scripture from their false interpretations, I shall conclude this discourse with these following observations.

1. That this doctrine has so little foundation in the Scripture, that the word *merit* is not so much as to be found there. Bellarmine indeed pretends to shew us the word in two places,

but he quotes them both according to the Latin translation,* which we do not allow of.

The first is Eccl. xvi. 14. The English whereof, according to the Latin translation, is, "All mercy shall make place for every one according to the merit of his works." But according to the original it is, "Every man shall find according to his works." Now we have already shewn the great difference betwixt receiving according to "the merit of our works," and receiving "according to our works." The first denotes an equality betwixt the reward and good works, the second only signifies the reward to be the consequent of them.

The other passage is Heb. xiii. 16, which, according to the interpretation of bad Latin,† denotes "God to be obliged by such sacrifices ;" but, according to the interpretation of the Greek,‡ no more is meant than that, "with such sacrifices God is well pleased ;" which he may be, when there is nothing of merit in the case.

2. That there are a great many places in Scripture,§ which do directly contradict this doctrine of merit. For, besides such as set forth our many sins and infirmities, and declare the necessity of God's forgiveness ;|| such as assert our good works to be done by the assistance of God's grace ;¶ that we were obliged to have done them, although we had had no prospect of a reward ;** that an eternal reward is our inheritance, and that there is no proportion betwixt it and the best of our actions :†† there are other places which expressly affirm eternal life to be the gift of God : other, which declare justification to be of grace, and consequently glorification to be so too ; "for whom he has justified, those he has glorified :" other, which teach us the necessity of daily praying to God for a supply of things necessary for our present subsistence,††† and consequently that if we do not merit our "daily bread," much less can we merit "eternal life :" other, which bid us, after we have done our best,§§ to own ourselves "unprofitable servants :" other, that will not allow even our sufferings, for

* *Omnis misericordia faciet locum unicuique secundum meritum operum suorum.* Πάση ἐλεημοσύνη ποιήσει τόπον, ἔκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὐρήσει.

† *Talibus hostiis promeretur Deus.*

‡ *Τοιαύταις γάρ θυσίαις εὐαρεστεῖται ὁ Θεός.*

§ *Psal. xxxviii. 4. Matth. vi. 12.*

|| *Phil. ii. 13. John xv. 5. 2 Cor. iii. 5. ¶ Luke xvii. 10.*

** *Rom. viii. 16, 17, 18.*

†† *Rom. vi. 23.*

†† *Matth. vi. 11.*

§§ *Luke xvii. 10.*

the sake of religion, “to be worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.”*

Lastly, There are several other, which do in so ample a manner set forth the merits of our Saviour’s undertaking for us, as they do wholly take us off from placing any trust or confidence in any of our best performances.

* Rom. viii. 18.

END OF VOL. X.

